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THE BIRKAT HA-MAZON

By LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological
Seminary of America

I

THE command to recite the Grace after Meals (*Birkat Ha-Mazon*) is found by Tradition in the verse "and thou shalt eat and be satisfied and bless the Lord, thy God, for the good land which He hath given Thee" (Deuteronomy 8.10). Without entering into the question whether this interpretation of the passage is literal or midrashic the very ascription of Pentateuchal authority to the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* shows it to be of high antiquity. It throws no light, however, on the age of the text of the Grace. To discover this we must apply to the text the rules of critical and historical study.

A number of scholars¹—Berliner, Schwab, Mann, Greenstone and Abrahams—have published new texts of the Grace from manuscripts. But no effort has been made to gather the various versions and to establish the original form of the benedictions. So far as fixing the date of the benedictions is concerned, we have hardly advanced beyond

¹ Berliner in *Magazin*, III, 52 (*Ozar Tob*, 1878, p. 016); Israel Abrahams in *JQR*, X (1898), p. 46; J. Greenstone in *ZfHB*, XV, (1911), 122ff.; Moise Schwab in *Le Manuscript Hébreu* No. 1388, p. 13; and Mann in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II, pp. 335-338. I have greatly benefited by suggestions and criticisms given me in this, as in previous studies, by Professors Louis Ginzberg, Alexander Marx and Israel Davidson. Professor Marx also permitted me to include in this paper a number of suggestions and texts which he had presented in an unpublished article on the same subject. I have also to thank Dr. Cyrus Adler for a number of very helpful suggestions in the preparation of this article.

the statement made some sixteen centuries ago by R. Nahman in Babylonia:²

"Moses formulated the first benediction when the manna came down from Heaven; Joshua the second when Israel entered the Land; David composed the prayer for Jerusalem; Solomon added to it the prayer for the Temple;³ while the fourth benediction was established by the Sages at Jabneh when permission was granted to bury those slain at Bether."

Yet there can be no doubt regarding the importance of fixing the original texts and the dates of the four benedictions of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. In the liturgical service of the Jewish home it occupies much the same outstanding position that the *Amidah* holds in the synagogue service. Together these prayers helped to make possible the continuance of a full and complete Jewish life after the destruction of Jerusalem. Furthermore the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* contains much information which might be utilized in discovering further facts concerning the growth of rabbinic thought and institutions. The universalism of the first, the special mention of the Torah and the Abrahamitic covenant in the second, and the prayer for Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty in the third benediction are significant as reflecting the state of mind of the generations in which they were composed and developed. It is the purpose of this paper to make an historical study of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* and to establish what were probably the earliest forms of the benedictions.

² Berakot 48b. The general opinion of the commentators is that this refers only to the formulation of the prayers; the injunction that they be recited is biblical. See, for example, R. Yeruham, *Sefer Adam ve-Havvah* 16.8.

³ Literally, David established the phrase: ועל ירושלים עירך while Solomon added: ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש.

II

While R. Nahman, living in the third century, was quite certain of the date of each benediction, the older Tannaitic sources are not so definite. All agree, however, that the first three benedictions are very old and that the fourth was instituted by the Sages.⁴ These traditions may be clarified and in part corroborated by external evidence.

Of some importance in this connection is the early Christian prayer of thanks preserved in the *Didache*, Chapter X (Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, ed. Hitchcock and Brown, p. 18).⁵ This prayer contains three benedictions, each ending in a doxology. While these benedictions differ in spirit and content from those of the Jewish Grace, it is evident that the deviations were made intentionally and they are such as we might expect early Christian authors to introduce in a Jewish prayer.

The Jewish *Birkat Ha-Mazon* naturally contained in its early forms only an expression of thanks for the food which had been eaten and for the fertile land which had been given Israel. A prayer for Jerusalem and the Temple was also appended. The mention of the Abrahamic Covenant as something for which one should be thankful, obviously dates from a period of persecution when its practice was prohibited. Similarly we know that the mention of Torah dates from the second century. The Christian prayer evidently expresses the feeling of men who were out of sympathy with those who thanked God for these blessings of

⁴ See Berakot, *ibid.* According to J. Berakot 8.1 (11a) R. Ishmael held that the fourth benediction as well as the *Birkat Ha-Zimzum* (to be discussed below) were biblical but it is probable that R. Ishmael's *derashah* was intended originally merely to fortify an argument for the introduction of the fourth benediction.

⁵ The close resemblance which this prayer bears to the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* has already been pointed out by Kohler in the *J. E.*, IV, p. 587, article *Didache*. The following translation is taken from Hitchcock and Brown.

everyday life. Partly because of their asceticism, partly because of the fact that the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* was already a long established institution in their day, the authors of the prayer in the *Didache* say: "Both food and drink didst Thou give to men for enjoyment in order that they might give thanks to Thee *but to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and eternal life.*" The slur upon the Jews is evident. In the second paragraph the Jewish benediction for the land is replaced by the following: "We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts." Again we recognize the emphasis on the spiritual as opposed to the material blessing. And finally the prayer for Jerusalem and the Temple were replaced by a prayer for the well-being of the Church. As a further attempt at spiritualizing the prayer, the words of gratitude for food, which correspond to the first benedictions of the Jewish Grace, were put after the benediction for God's Name and the gift of knowledge, faith and immortality which take the place of the Jewish benediction for the Land (*Birkat Ha-Arez*).

Anyone acquainted with the changes made even by modern revisers⁶ in their attempt to give a more spiritual

⁶ Thus in most reform prayer books the benediction ברוך אתה ה' מלך העולם has been replaced by ברוך אתה ה' נותן בחייו חיי עולם. Even more significant are the changes that have been made in the prayer for peace (שים שלום) of the *Amidah*. It may help the reader who is more impressed by the deviations of the Christian prayer from the Jewish than by its similarity to it, to compare the traditional prayer for peace with the form given it in the Union Prayer Book.

Askenazic Prayer Book

Grant peace, welfare, blessing, lovingkindness, and mercy unto us and unto all Israel, Thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together with the light of Thy countenance; for by the light of Thy countenance Thou hast given us, O Lord, our God, the Law of life, lovingkindness and righteous-

Union Prayer Book

Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace and be its advocate in the councils of nations. May contentment reign within its bor-

and sophisticated tone to ancient prayers, will recognize at once the close relationship between the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* and the Christian prayer of thanks, when the two are put side by side, paragraph by paragraph.

*Birkat Ha-Mazon**Didache*

I

II

Blessed art Thou, O Lord,
our God, King of the Uni-
verse, Who feedest the whole
world with goodness, with
grace and with mercy.

Thou, Master Almighty,
didst create all things for Thy
name's sake; both food and
drink Thou didst give to men
for enjoyment in order that
they might give thanks to
Thee, but to us Thou hast
graciously given spiritual
food and eternal life through
Thy servant. Before all
things, we thank Thee that
Thou art mighty;

Blessed art Thou, O Lord,
Who feedest all.

To Thee be the glory forever.

ness, blessing, mercy, life and peace;
and may it be good in Thy sight to
bless Thy people Israel at all times
and in every hour with peace.

ders, health and happiness within
its homes. Strengthen the bonds of
friendship and fellowship between
all the inhabitants of our land.
Plant virtue in every soul and may
love of Thy name hallow every
home and every heart.

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who
blessest Thy people Israel with
peace.

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, Giver of
Peace.

It is clear that just as the rejection of Jewish nationalism by Reform Jews led to what is practically a complete rewriting of the prayer, so the new attitude of the early Christians led to a complete rewriting of the Grace. In both instances the outer form has been in a measure retained.

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Union Prayer Book

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Birkat Ha-Mazon

I

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world with goodness, with
grace and with mercy.

Blessed art Thou, O, Lord,
Who feedest all.

ness, blessing, mercy, life and peace;
and may it be good in Thy sight to
bless Thy people Israel at all times
and in every hour with peace.

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who
blessest Thy people Israel with
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Didache

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To Thee be the glory forever.

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friendship and fellowship between
all the inhabitants of our land.
Plant virtue in every soul and may
love of Thy name hallow every
home and every heart.

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, Giver of
Peace.

II

We thank Thee, O Lord, our God, that Thou hast caused us to inherit a goodly and pleasant land, the covenant, the Torah, life and food. For all these things we thank Thee and praise Thy name forever and ever.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, for the land and for the food.

III

Have mercy, O Lord, our God, on Thy people Israel, and on Thy city Jerusalem, and on Thy Temple and Thy dwelling-place and on Zion Thy resting-place, and on the great and holy sanctuary over which Thy name was called, and the kingdom of the dynasty of David mayest Thou restore to its place in our days, and build Jerusalem soon.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

I

We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant;

To Thee be glory forever.

III

Remember, Lord, Thy church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in Thy love and gather it from the four winds, it, the sanctified, into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it;

For Thine is the power and the glory forever.

Let⁷ grace come and this world pass away. Hosanna

⁷ Regarding these additional verses see below, p. 234.

to the son of David. Whoever is holy, let him come; whoever is not let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.

Since the eucharistic prayer has only three doxologies, the Jewish prayer after which it was modeled most likely only had three benedictions. The date of the *Didache* is somewhat uncertain, but it is generally held to belong to the last decades of the first century.⁸ Hence the parallel seems to point to the fact that in the generation immediately following the fall of Jerusalem the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* had only three benedictions.

Fortunately more definite evidence of this fact is available from the Talmud itself. R. Gamaliel II, living about the year 100, maintains that after eating certain foods one must "recite an abridged *Birkat Ha-Mazon*:"⁹ "a summary of the three benedictions." It is true that in most versions of this benediction there is contained in addition to the summary of the first three benedictions also a reference to the fourth. But this reference must have been added in later times, for no amount of dialectic reasoning can explain why R.

⁸ See Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, article *Didache*.

⁹ M. Berakot 6.8. I examined a large number of texts of this benediction, but find it impossible at the present time to establish its original form. It occurs not only in the Prayer Books, but also in the Talmud as having been given to Abbaye by R. Dimi, one of the rabbis who came from Palestine to Babylonia (*Berakot* 44a). From the Talmud it is quoted in a number of codes and commentaries. But apparently each author gave it the form which he knew from his own rite. The text of the benediction as found in the usual editions of the Babylonian Talmud is reproduced here:

וברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם על העץ ועל פרי העץ ועל תנובת השדה ועל ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה שהנחת לאבותינו לאכול מפריה ולשבוע מטובה רחם ה' אלהינו על ישראל עמך ועל ירושלים עירך ועל מקדשך ועל מובחר ותבנה ירושלים עיר קדשך במהרה בימינו והעלנו לחוכה ושמחנו בה כי אתה טוב ומטיב לכל [וברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל הפירות].

Gamaliel should call a summary of four benedictions "*Berakah Me'en Shalosh*."¹⁰

What establishes the matter beyond question is the testimony of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, the brother-in-law of R. Gamaliel, who speaks of the fourth benediction¹¹ as "the benediction established by the scholars at Jabneh." Since R. Eliezer was himself one of the scholars who came to Jabneh with R. Johanan b. Zakkai about the year 70, his words are an irrefutable proof that the fourth benediction was established after the destruction of the Temple.

We must now turn to the task of ascertaining how old the threefold prayer was. Again we are fortunate in having a reference to the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* in an early work. The Book of Jubilees, the date of which can hardly be later than the year 100 B.C.E., attributes to Abraham the recital of a prayer of thanks after he had eaten. The author of the book, who wanted it to be accepted as Mosaic, naturally did not dare commit the gross anachronism of making Abraham repeat the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* in the form which it had in Hasmonean Jerusalem. At the same time he wished to imply that Abraham observed the commandment of reciting the Grace in approximately the same way as his descendants were destined to do. He therefore wrote a prayer which is worded differently from the traditional *Birkat Ha-Mazon*, but, like it, consists of three parts of

¹⁰ The following sources omit the mention of the fourth benediction in the *Berakah me'en Shalosh*: *Mahzor Vitry*, printed edition p. 53, (Ms. Jewish Theological Seminary of America, f. 25a): *Sefer Ha-Pardes*, ed. Ehrenreich, pp. 176-7; *Ma'aseh ha-Geonim*, p. 57. Meiri also omits the reference to the fourth benediction, but he knows the custom according to which it is inserted (commentary on Berakot chapter VII).

¹¹ Berakot 48b. The word *ביבנה* is omitted in the Munich Ms. See below, note 23. But R. Eliezer's statement *בברכה שתקנו חכמים* even without the word *ביבנה* would show that it was an accepted fact in his day that this benediction was rabbinical whereas the others were biblical in origin. This could only point to its having been established either in his generation or slightly earlier.

which the first is thanks to God for food and drink, the second addresses Him and praises Him for other blessings, and the third prays for mercy on Israel. The writer tells us¹² that after Abraham ate and drank, he "blessed the Most High God,

I. Who hath created Heaven and Earth,
Who hath made all the fat things of the earth
And given them to the children of men,
That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

II. And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because Thou hast caused me to see this day; behold I am one hundred and three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace. The sword of the adversary hath not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day.

III. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant and upon the seed of his sons that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth unto all the ages."

III

The three benedictions of which the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* consisted at the beginning of the first pre-Christian century were doubtless the earlier forms of the first three benedictions of the present *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. The suggestion has been made elsewhere¹³ that the prayer for Jerusalem was

¹² Jubilees 22.6-9.

¹³ *JQR.* (N.S.), XVI, 36-7, 128-9.

composed during the Maccabean struggle when the Temple and the Altar, the importance of both of which is emphasized in the earliest form of this prayer, were under the control of the heathen. The term *ה' אלהינו* was not used in prayers composed during the first century of the Christian era, and at no time before the opening of that era was the Temple in any real danger of destruction.

Additional corroboration of the theory is now available. A comparison of the texts and citations of the prayer proves indisputably that its earliest form was:¹⁴

רחם ה' אלהינו על ישראל עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל ציון משכן
בבדך ועל מזבחך ועל היכלך.

This is evidently connected with¹⁵ the following passage in the Book of Ben Sira (36, 17-19)

רחם על עם נקרא בשמך	ישראל בכור כיניחה
רחם על קרית קדשך	ירושלם מכון שבתיך
מלא ציון את הודך	ומכבודך את היכלך.

It follows from this that the prayer for Jerusalem was composed at some time between the Book of Ben Sira and the Book of Jubilees, that is in the second century B.C.E.¹⁶ Certainly within the limits of this century we can find no more appropriate time to suggest for its composition than the days of the Maccabean rebellion when the greatest danger faced the Altar, the Temple, the Holy City and the people of Israel.

¹⁴ See p. 233, below, and *JQR*, (N.S.), *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ This was first pointed out by Professor Louis Ginzberg in the "*Orientalische Studien*," published in honor of Noeldeke, p. 624. There is the possibility that Ben Sira modeled his verses after the prayer. But that I do not consider likely, particularly as we would have to account Ben Sira's omission of *מזבחך*.

¹⁶ It should be noted that the prayer for Jerusalem as reconstructed here is identical with the earliest form of the prayer for Jerusalem as found in the *Amidah* (*JQR*, N.S., XVI, 159).

IV

Whether the first and second benedictions were formulated at the same time as the third or earlier, and if earlier when, cannot be ascertained at the present time.¹⁷ It is known, however, that the fourth was added in Jabneh, doubtless on the occasion of some great good that befell Israel, for it praises God as "the kind One who dealeth kindly." We have noticed that this benediction is mentioned by R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos.¹⁸ It was also known to R. Jose the Galilean¹⁹ and R. Ishmael,²⁰ both somewhat younger contemporaries of R. Eliezer. None of these Tannaitic authorities tells us why the prayer was instituted. It is only the Amoraim of the third century, R. Nahman²¹ and R. Huna,²² who associate it with the permission that was granted to bury those "who were slain at Bether."

But we know that R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos died before the outbreak of the rebellion of Bar Kokhba. How then could he mention a benediction that was composed in celebration of the relenting of the government toward those who had taken part in it? It is clear that the Amoraic tradition regarding this benediction cannot be accepted

¹⁷ It is probable, however, that the first two benedictions of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* are pre-Maccabean. Comp. also S. Klein in *Ha-Zofeh* X 304.

¹⁸ See note 12.

¹⁹ Tosefta Berakot I.7.

²⁰ Jer. Berakot 8.1 (11a).

²¹ Berakot 48b.

²² Jer. Berakot 11a (7.1): compare also Jer. Ta'anit 69a (5.4). The same tradition is reported in B. Ta'anit 31a. It is to be noted that the tradition found in the Talmud of Jerusalem occurs in the name of R. Huna, the Babylonian Amora. It is probable that it originated with Rab since the three authorities who mention it were his disciples.

although the benediction was doubtless added to the Grace within a half century after the destruction of the Temple.²³

It is extremely hazardous to guess at the reason of the innovation, since the rabbis who lived a hundred and fifty years after it no longer knew it. Yet with all reserve the suggestion may be ventured that the occasion for the fourth benediction was the granting of permission in the early years of the reign of Hadrian to rebuild the Temple. Certainly the Jews were led to believe that the Temple would be rebuilt, and we can well believe that in their joy they added this new blessing to the Grace.

²³ The question of the date of this benediction is discussed at length by Weiss in his *Dor* II.145, (see especially note 2) and by Halevy in his *Dorot Ha-Rishonim*, I e, p. 742ff. Weiss maintains that the fourth benediction was established not at Jabneh but at Usha, and that the "slain of Bether" were those executed in the persecution rather than those killed in battle. His reasons for this position are: 1. The Sanhedrin could not have met at Jabneh after the fall of Bether. 2. The tradition that the benediction was established after the fall of Bether is found in both the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud, but only in the latter is there any mention of its having been instituted at Jabneh. 3. The Munich Ms. of the Babylonian Talmud does not read the word בִּבְתֵּר in the Baraita but merely gives R. Eliezer's words thus: בְּבֵרְכָה שֶׁתִּקְנוּ חֲכָמִים אוֹמְרִים (see Strack, Photographic Edition, I, fol. 152b, and *Dikduke Soferim*, ad. loc.).

Halevy insists on the correctness of the Amoraic tradition, and maintains that after the fall of Bether the Sanhedrin met again at Jabneh for a brief period, during which this Taqqanah was established.

Neither Weiss nor Halevy, however, have felt the essential difficulty of maintaining their respective positions which lies in the fact that the benediction was known to R. Eliezer, who according to all authorities died before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba rebellion (Weiss, *Dor*, II, p. 130; Halevy, *Dorot*, I e, p. 617, maintains that R. Ishmael, too, died before the outbreak of the Rebellion, yet he does not seem to have asked himself how R. Ishmael could speak of the benediction which was established *after* the fall of that city).

It is quite evident that the various statements and traditions can be reconciled only on the assumption that the view that associated this benediction with Bether was a third century guess. On the other hand since the benediction was known to R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, R. Ishmael and R. Jose the Galilean it was doubtless older than the Hadrianic persecutions, with which Weiss tries to associate it, or even than the Bar Kokhba rebellion.

V

After the discussion of the dates of the benedictions we must now turn to our second task: the reconstruction of the original texts. All of the available versions have been collected in the Appendix but for the purpose of the present discussion only a few typical forms of the benedictions need be cited. We shall choose the Palestinian versions²⁴ as recovered from the Genizah fragments and those of *Seder R. Amram*,²⁵ *Seder R. Saadia* and Maimonides.

•Palestinian

Amram

A	B	
בא"י אמ"ה הון את העולם כולו בטוב ובחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מוזן לכל בריותיו. בא"י הון את הכל.	בא"י אמ"ה הון את העולם כולו בטוב בהסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי לעולם חסדו עמנו וטובו הגדול לא חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו כל טוב בעבור שמו הגדול כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל. בא"י הון את הכל.	בא"י אמ"ה הון את העולם כולו בטובו ובחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מוזן לכל בריותיו. בא"י הון את הכל.

Maimonides

Saadia

בא"י אמ"ה הון את העולם כולו בטוב בחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מוזן לכל בריותיו. בא"י הון את הכל.	בא"י אמ"ה הון את העולם כולו בטוב בחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מוזן לכל בריותיו. בא"י הון את הכל.
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²⁴ For this benediction two Palestinian texts must be presented, the one brief (A), the other somewhat longer (B). The Palestinian texts are characterized by the use of the words *ברית* and *תורה* instead of the longer forms: *שחתם בבשרנו ועל ברייתך שחתם בבשרנו ועל תורתך שלמדתנו* which are found in the rites that follow the Babylonian form. The Palestinian texts always have *הנהלתו* whereas the Babylonian texts generally have *שהנהלתו*. Some have *הנהלתו* under the influence of either the Egyptian or Palestinian rite.

²⁵ For the sources of these texts see Appendix.

In attempting to establish on the basis of these later forms, the earliest text of the benedictions we must bear in mind that for many centuries the prayers were not written down but transmitted orally. Under these circumstances new material could be added, but changes or omissions were difficult. It is comparatively easy to issue an edict changing the wording of written prayers, and in an age of printing it is a slight matter to prepare a new edition of a prayer book. But when people recited their prayers from memory, they were willing to learn new verses or phrases, but found it difficult to unlearn what they already knew.

It follows that in dealing with various formulae of prayer we must remember that *in general* these rules hold. 1. The old text is retained as a nucleus of the later formula. 2. Where various versions differ, the part that is common to all of them is the more likely to contain the original form. 3. The briefest form is very often the most akin to the original.

Now taking Palestinian A, Palestinian B, *Seder R. Amram* and Maimonides as the bases we arrive at the following which is common to all:

בא"י אמ"ה הו"ן את העולם כולו בשוב בחדר וברחמים. בא"י הו"ן את הכל.

This is practically identical with the version of *Seder R. Saadia*. We thus reach the unexpected conclusion that the earliest of extant forms is not that of Palestine as recovered from the Genizah, but that of *Seder R. Saadia*.²⁶ This simply means, of course, that the Palestinian version of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* underwent a number of changes which the Egyptian ritual escaped.

²⁶ In regard to the *Amidah* it was found that generally the Palestinian version retained the older readings (*JQR.*, N.S., XVI, pp. 142-169), but compare *ibid.*, p. 12 where it is found that in the case of one benediction *Seder R. Saadia* has retained the oldest reading. It is to be kept in mind that whereas in regard to the *Amidah* the Egyptian community adopted the early forms of the Babylonian version, it seems that its form of the Grace was only slightly influenced by that of Babylonia.

VI

This finding is corroborated and an even older form of the benediction²⁷ established by the correct interpretation of a passage in the *Tosefta* which in our texts is corrupt. In the *Tosefta Berakot* 1.6, we read:

אלו ברכות שמקצין בהן מברך על הפירות ועל המצות ברכת הוימן
(ד' הוימן) וברכה אחרונה שבברכת המזון.

"These are the benedictions in which a brief formula²⁷ is recited: when one pronounces the benediction for fruits, for the commandments, the benediction of *Zimmun*—calling on others to join in the Grace—and the last benediction of the Grace."²⁸

By *Birkat Ha-Zimmun* we are to understand the blessing recited by the leader who calls on the company to say the Grace. The usual²⁹ form for this is: נברך שאכלנו משלו to which the response of the company is: ברוך שאכלנו משלו.

It seems strange that the *Baraita* should put the *Birkat Ha-Zimmun*, which alone among Talmudic benedictions has no mention of the Tetragrammaton, on the same plane as the other benedictions. It is true that a *Baraita*³⁰ said to represent the view of R. Ishmael finds a reference to the *Birkat Ha-Zimmun* in the Torah and that the term *Birkat Ha-Zimmun*³¹ is regularly used for the introductory formula. Nevertheless it is certain that as late as the time of R. Jose the Galilean the text of the *Birkat Ha-Zimmun* was still in a fluid state, and this would seem to indicate that the institution was of recent origin.³²

²⁷ "Brief formula" means a benediction consisting of a single sentence like the benedictions for the fruits and the commandments.

²⁸ One text (Zuckerman *ad. loc.*) reads שבקריאה שמע of שבברכה המזון.

²⁹ Mishnah Berakot 7.3 and B. Berakot 50a. There different forms are given for larger companies.

³⁰ Jer. Berakot 8.1 (11a).

³¹ *Ibid.* B. Berakot 48b, *Baraita*, et al.

³² *Tosefta* Berakot 1.7.

The matter is, however, clarified by the form in which this passage is quoted by Ibn Adret³³ in his commentary to *Berakot* 45b, where for the words ברכת הוימן is substituted the term ברכת הון. It is true that Ibn Adret interprets ברכת הון as meaning ברכת הוימן, but his interpretation only makes the more certain that he read הון where our texts read הומון.

For this reading of the Tosefta we have the further authority of a similar citation in an anonymous commentary on *Berakot*, the so-called שטה מקובצת (published in *ברכה משולשת*, Warsaw 1863). The text³⁴ as quoted there is sufficiently different from that of Ibn Adret to show that it is an independent citation, and yet here also we find הון instead of הומון.

It is thus evident that the original reading of the passage was ברכת הון and that, properly interpreted, it means that the first benediction of the Grace originally had no *hatimah*, but was a "brief formula" consisting of a only single sentence. The copyists, like the scholars,³⁵ could not under-

³³ The full text of Ibn Adret's quotation is as follows:

כדחניא בפרק קמא דתוספתא דמכלחין אלו ברכות שמקצין ואין חותמין בברוך ברכת הפירות וברכת המצות וברכת הון פ' ברוך שאכלנו משלו וברכה אחרונה של ברכת המון.

³⁴ Complete text:

וגרסינן בתוספתא אלו ברכות שמקצין בהן ואין חותמין בהן ברכת הפירות וברכת המצות וברכת הון פירוש ברוך שאכלנו משלו דליכא למימר הון דהא חתמין בה וברכה אחרונה של ברכת המון.

It is probable that a similar text underlay that cited by the Provençal Ibn Jarhi in his *Manhig*. In this work, ed. Berlin 1855, p. 40a, the *Baraita* is cited thus:

בתוספתא אלו ברכות שמקצין בהן וכו' על ברכת המון שהוא המוציא וברכה אחרונה שהיא הטוב והמטיב ר' יוסי הגלילי חותם בה ומאריך בה.

The word הון has here been changed to המון, and interpreted to mean המוציא. The fact that the term never occurs elsewhere in this sense was no obstacle as no other interpretation seemed possible. There would have been no reason for a copyist or a scholar creating such a text as Ibn Jarhi's if his reading had been הומון, but he had every reason for it if he read הון in his original text.

³⁵ The Amoraim who cited the *Baraita* in the Talmudim also emended it by changing הון into הומון (B. *Berakot* 46a and Jer. *Berakot* 3c).

stand how the *Baraita* could speak of the first benediction which in their days had a well-established doxology as a "brief formula" and they were thus led to change ברכת הון into ברכת הומון. The emendation was so slight that it was almost universally accepted.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the original form of the first benediction had no *hatimah* or doxology and that it merely read:³⁶

ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם הון את העולם כלו בטוב בחדס וברהמים.

³⁶ The development of short into long benedictions is a common phenomenon in the development of Jewish liturgy. The sabbath *kiddush* is given in *Tosefta Berakot* III.7 without any *hatimah*:

ועל הכוס אומר אשר קידש את יום השבת ואינו חותם.

But in our liturgies it has developed the long form. We are told that R. Jose the Galilean attempted to add a doxology to the fourth benediction of the Grace בברכה אחרונה שבברכת המון ומאריך (Tosefta, *ibid.*, I.7.). In B. *Berakot* 11b we are told how R. Johanan developed the benediction for the Torah from the "short" into the "long" form. In B. *Sanhedrin* 42a we are told how R. Judah established a long benediction for the New Moon instead of the short one which was in use in Palestine. The later theory that every prayer that does not follow immediately after a benediction must begin with a benediction (*Berakot* 46a), led to the amalgamation of prayers with benedictions so as to make one long benediction (see *Tosafot, ibid.*, catchword כל). An examination of all the benedictions mentioned in the Talmud and found in the liturgy will reveal the fact that practically everyone of the so-called "long formulae," which begin with ברוך and end with a doxology, are either from the period following the fall of the Temple or were short benedictions before the Fall of the Temple. These seeming exceptions are (1) the *Berakah me'en Shalosh* which may or may not in its original form have had the doxology at the end. But even assuming that it had, it antedated the Fall of the Temple by only a decade or two. (2) The first benediction of the *Shema'* in the morning and evening services. I believe it is possible to prove that neither of these is a real exception, but must defer the exposition as it would take us far afield. (3) The first benediction of the Grace, which has been discussed in the text. (4) The first benediction of the *Amidah* which has been discussed in *JQR*, N.S., XVI, 24-27, and proved to have been originally a short formula. The matter requires, however, fuller treatment than can be accorded it here.

VII

In establishing the text of the second benediction we have the important aid of reliable traditions as to the manner of its growth. Before we can apply them, however, we must again compare the available versions. In this case not only do the Palestinian texts agree among themselves, but they are practically identical with that of the *Seder R. Saadia* so that only that version need be quoted to represent both the Palestinian and Egyptian forms. The *Seder R. Amram* represents a purely Babylonian version, while the text of Maimonides is the version of the Dispersion, with strong additional influences from Palestinian or Egyptian sources.

<i>Maimonides</i>	<i>Saadia</i>	<i>Amram</i>
נודה לך ה' א' ונברך מלכינו כי הנחלתנו (והנחלת) את אבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית וחורה (חיים ומזון) ועל שהוצאתנו מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו מבית עבדים על תורתך שלמדתנו על חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו ועל כולם ה' א' אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את ה' א' על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך. ברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.	נודה לך ה' א' כי הנחלתנו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית וחורה חיים ומזון ועל כולם אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך לעולם ועד. בא' על הארץ ועל המזון.	נודה לך ה' א' ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה שרצית והנחלת את אבותינו ועל בריתך ששמת בבשרנו ועל חורה שנתת לנו ועל חיים וחסד וחסן ומזון שאתה מלוה אותנו בכל עת ועל כלם ה' א' אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך ייברך שמך תמיד עלינו לעולם ועד. בא' על הארץ ועל המזון.

The explanation for the radical differences among these versions must be sought in the history of the growth of the benediction as outlined in the following *Baraita*, (*Berakot* 48b):

תניא ר' אליעזר אומר כל שלא אמר ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה בברכת הארץ ומלכות בית דוד בבונה ירושלם לא יצא ידי חובתו. נהום הזקן אומר צריך שיזכור בה ברית, ר' יוסי אומר צריך שיזכור בה תורה.

R. Eliezer says: "One who does not say the words 'A goodly, pleasant and broad land' (in describing the Holy Land) in the second benediction and one who fails to mention the dynasty of David in the third benediction has not fulfilled his duty. Naḥum Ha-Zaken says: One must also mention (in the second benediction) thanks for the Covenant. R. Jose says: One must also include the Torah."

The mention of the Torah and the Covenant is made by only a word for each in the *Seder R. Saadia* (ברית ותורה) but in the *Seder R. Amram* it is elaborated into the verses:

ועל בריחתך ששמת בבשרנו ועל תורה שנחת לנו.

In the ritual of Maimonides the two customs are combined and in addition to the long verses of thanks, the words *ברית ותורה* are also added. Since we know from the *Baraita* just cited that the insertion of the mention of the Covenant and the Torah was made by authorities of the second century,³⁷ we are justified in holding that the insertion of the memory of the redemption מצרים ופדיתנו מבית מארץ מצרים in rituals like that of Maimonides, and of thanks for food and life which we find only in the *Seder R. Amram* and *Seder R. Saadia* are likewise later insertions. The final summary of thanksgiving beginning with ועל כלם was added in accordance with the following statement of R. Abba in the *Baraita*³⁸ quoted above, *הודאה תחלה וסוף* "One must mention thanksgiving both at the beginning and at the end of the benediction." Obviously R. Abba had in mind the need of some recapitulation of the

³⁷ The mention of them was probably inserted as a reaction to the persecution to which the Jews were exposed on their account.

³⁸ B. Berakot 49a. R. Abba is of course Rab.

meaning of the benediction because of the insertions that had been made by earlier scholars.

It is thus clear from the *Baraita* that originally the second benediction consisted of only one verse, thanking God for the gift of the Holy Land. This is exactly what we might expect from the fact that it is intended to fulfil the command: "to bless the Lord, thy God, for the goodly land which He hath given thee."³⁹

VIII

The problem of the establishment of the original text of the third benediction has been discussed in part elsewhere.⁴⁰ Nevertheless the new material now made available makes a further discussion of the problem desirable. In this instance, too, it will be best to present typical texts from rituals as a basis for the discussion. The text of Maimonides need not be given for this benediction as it is essentially the same as the Palestinian.

³⁹ R. Eliezer's statement requiring the use of the formula: ארץ טובה ורחבה naturally arouses speculation as to the rival formula to which he objected. As R. Eliezer is not known as an innovator it is likely that he merely expressed preference for one form over another current form. The form objected to probably was ארץ טובה ורחבה. This seems probable from the fact that in Sifre Deuteronomy 43, ed. Friedmann 81b, there occurs in what seems to be a citation of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* only the term ארץ טובה ורחבה. The passage in Sifre reads:

כך אמר להם הקב"ה לישראל הכנסתי אתכם לארץ טובה ורחבה לארץ זבת חלב ודבש לאכול מפריה ולשבוע מטובה ולברך שמי עליה

The words שמי עליה seem to make it clear that the words are taken from the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. After the article had been written, I found additional confirmation of this hypothesis in the material presented by M. Julien Weill in the Lévi Volume (R.E.J., LXXXII, pp. 129-131). He maintains that the expression ארץ טובה ורחבה was a common liturgical formula in the time of Josephus, so common that Josephus naturally substituted it for the biblical expression ארץ זבת חלב ודבש.

⁴⁰ *JQR* (N.S.), XVI, 129.

Palestinian

רחם ה' א' על ישראל
 עמך ועל ירושלם עירך
 ועל מלכות בית דוד
 משיחך ועל הבית הגדול
 והקדוש שנקרא שמך
 עליו ומלכות בית דוד
 מהרה תחזירה למקומה
 בימינו ונבנה ירושלם
 בקרוב והעלינו לתוכה
 ושמחנו בה בא"י בונה
 ברחמינו את ירושלם.

Saadia

רחם ה' א' על ישראל
 עמך ועל ירושלם עירך
 ועל היכלך ועל מעינך
 ועל ציון משכן כבודך
 ועל הבית הגדול
 והקדוש אשר שמך נקרא
 עליו ומלכות בית דוד
 תחזיר למקומה בימינו
 ובנה את ירושלם
 בקרוב. בא"י בונה
 ירושלם.

Amram

רחם ה' א' על ישראל
 עמך ועל ירושלם עירך
 ועל ציון משכן כבודך
 ועל מלכות בית דוד
 משיחך ועל הבית הגדול
 והקדוש שנקרא שמך
 עליו ואבינו מלכנו
 רועינו זנו מפרנסנו
 מכלכלנו הרוח לנו
 מהרה מצרותינו ואל
 תצריכנו לידי מתנת
 בשר ודם שמחתם
 מעוטה וחרפתם מרובה
 בשם קדשך הגדול
 והנורא בטחנו ויבא
 אליהו ומשיח בן דוד
 בחיינו ומלכות בית דוד
 (ומשיחך) מהרה תחזור
 למקומה ומלוך עלינו
 כי אתה לבדך והושיענו
 למען שמך והעלנו
 לתוכה ושמחנו בה
 ונחמנו בציון עירך.
 בא"י בונה ירושלם.

It is necessary to note that *Seder R. Amram* alone among the oldest versions contains the portion: רענו זנו. That it is not found in the Genizah fragments may seem strange at first sight in view of the well-known fact that the Palestinian Talmud (*Shabbat* 15b) refers to it. It is recorded there that R. Zeira asked R. Hiyya b. Abba whether the prayer רענו זנו may be recited on the sabbath in spite of its being a petition for the fulfilment of daily needs. R. Hiyya b. Abba replied that it may be recited since it is not a special petition, but part of a fixed formula.⁴¹

⁴¹ The reading of the Jerushalmi is:

ר' זעירא שאל לר' חיה בר בא מהו מימר רעינו פרנסינו אל טופוס ברכות כך הן.

It is a misunderstanding of the passage, however, to assume that it implies that רענו ונונו was part of the Palestinian *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. Both R. Hiyya b. Abba and R. Zeira were Babylonian scholars who had migrated to Palestine. They doubtless preferred to retain—especially in the home services, like the Grace after Meals—the forms of prayer to which they had become accustomed in their youth. But when on coming to Palestine R. Zeira discovered that רענו ונונו was *not* recited there, he began to have doubts as to whether it ought to be recited on the sabbath, since it evidently was not an essential part of the prayer. He asked R. Hiyya b. Abba, who was an older scholar, what his practice was; and was told that there was no objection to the use of the prayer רענו ונונו since it was kept merely as part of the fixed *Birkat Ha-Mazon* of their native land. Seen in this light, the passage in the Jerushalmi confirms the evidence of the Genizah fragments that the prayer רענו ונונו was not part of the Palestinian service, while at the same time it shows that it was contained in the Babylonian *Birkat Ha-Mazon* as early as the fourth century.

The mention of the kingdom of David in this prayer is doubtless an early addition. It is not quoted in the

Professor Jacob Mann has already called attention to the parallel passage in Leviticus R. 34.16 (*H.U.C. Annual*, II, 333, note 130), which reads:

ר' זעירא בעי קומי דר' חייא בר אבא א"ל אילין דאמרין רועינו ונונו פרנסינו
בשבת מהו א"ל טופס ברכות כך הוא

According to this reading R. Zeira did not at all imply that the portion beginning with רענו ונונו was part of the Palestinian version of the third benediction. I believe that the interpretation of the passage of the Jerushalmi given here is the correct one. The text of the Jerushalmi is doubtless older and more correct than that of Leviticus R., where not only are the words אילין דאמרין added but also the explanatory statement בשבת. In the Jerushalmi neither was necessary as the whole discussion centers about speaking of weekday needs on the sabbath. The editor who sought to clarify the passage by adding the word בשבת also thought it necessary to add אילין דאמרין because in his Palestinian ritual the passage רענו ונונו did not occur.

ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שלש, but referred to by R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos who maintains that its omission necessitated the repetition of the Grace.⁴² The words ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש were doubtless added after the destruction of the Temple to replace the earlier ועל מובחר ועל היכל which had become obsolete. The Egyptian rite combined both expressions and thus was produced the tautology of the *Seder R. Saadia*: ועל היכל ועל מעונך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש.

The words ובנה ירושלם—בימינו are not found in all the Genizah fragments and were probably added in most versions in order to effect a transition to the benediction בא"י בונה ירושלם.

The earliest formula of this prayer must therefore have read about as follows:

רחם ה' אלהינו על ישראל עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל מובחר ועל היכלך. בא"י בונה ירושלם.

IX

The fourth benediction which is now quite long was originally extremely brief and merely read: ברוך אתה ה' הטוב והמטיב. This, at any rate, is the view of many early authorities⁴³ and would appear to follow from the fact that it is usually called the benediction of הטוב והמטיב by the Amoraim. Most of the additional epithets and prayers which were added to it are mentioned in a Midrash⁴⁴ which is often cited by mediaeval codifiers. On the other hand the terms אבינו מלכנו occur in all the versions and may have been inserted at a very early time.

⁴² B. Berakot 48b.

⁴³ Tosafot Berakot 46b, catchword הטוב והמטיב; *Shibbole Ha-Lekei* 62a; Asheri Berakot 7.22; R. Yeruham, *Sefer Adam ve-Havvah* 16.6.

⁴⁴ The source for this Midrash is unknown but it is quoted in Asheri Berakot 7.22 and in R. Yeruham, *loc. cit.*

X

In all of the versions the fourth benediction is followed by a series of prayers beginning with the word *הרחמן*. In some rites there are as few as three, in others there are very many. The only reference to such prayers in the Talmud is the statement that a guest should invoke a blessing on his host when reciting the Grace.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that these prayers center about the Redemption and that they are followed by a number of verses dealing with the same thought. It is probable that this custom is very old, for in the Christian prayer of the Eucharist, given in the *Didache*,⁴⁶ a similar prayer for the coming of the Kingdom follows the completion of the main benedictions. It seems entirely likely that from the dark days when the Temple fell, Israel always felt the need of comforting herself after the Grace by reading verses in which the future redemption and glory were assured her.

XI

The Karaite version of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* as printed in the first edition of the Karaite Prayer Book, Venice 1528, contains a number of interesting similarities to some of the Rabbanite versions. For example it begins with *ברוך מאכילנו ברוך משביענו ברוך מרונו, ברוך משביע רעבים ברוך מרוה צמאים*, expressions which occur in a number of rites. The Grace itself occurs in several forms. The first form consists of two parts of which the first ends with *ברוך אתה ה' הוון את הכל*, the second begins with *נודה לה' חסדו ונפלאותיו לבני אדם* and ends with *ברוך ה' לעולם*. As in a number of Rabbanite versions the verse *פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון* (Ps. 145.16) occurs in the first paragraph and the verse *ואכלת ושבעת וברכת*

⁴⁵ Berakot 46a.

⁴⁶ See above, p. 216.

ושלחנך ערוך לכל - כי אתה הוא זן ומפרנס ומכלכל לכל ומכין מזון ומחיה (Deut. 8.10) in the second. Moreover the expressions לכל בריותיך are strongly reminiscent of similar expressions that occur in the first benediction according to rabbanite sources.⁴⁷

On sabbaths, new moons and other festive occasions the Grace is appropriately changed. The full significance of the text cannot be determined till more material is available for the study of its history.

⁴⁷ The full text of the Karaite Grace for weekdays is here reprinted from the first edition (f. 26b):

ברוך מאכילנו ברוך משביענו ברוך מרוננו ברוך משביע רעבים ברוך מרוה צמאים.
(דה"א כ"ט) י. ברוך אתה ה' אלהי ישראל אבינו מעולם ועד עולם. יא. לך ה' הגדולה והגבורה והתפארת והנצח וההוד כי כל בשמים ובארץ לך ה' הממלכה ומתנשא לכל לראש, יב. והעושר והכבוד מלפניך ואתה מושל בכל ובידך כח וגבורה ובידך לגדל ולחזק לכל. ועתה אלהינו מודים אנחנו לך ומהללים לשם תפארתך. ואנחנו נברך יה מעתה ועד עולם הללויה (תהלים קט"ו, י"ח). עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נותן להם את אכלם בעתו. פותח את ידיך ומשביע לכל חי רצון (שם קמ"ה, ט"ו-ט"ז). רצון חשביענו ורוון העבר ממנו והטריפנו לחם חקנו ושלחנך ערוך לכל. בארך אפים ובגמילות חסדיך אנו חיים וקיימים ומפתיחת ידיך, כי אתה הוא זן ומפרנס ומכלכל לכל ומכין מזון ומחיה לכל בריותיך אשר בראת. ברוך אתה ה' הון את הכל, אמן.
נודה לה' חסדו ונפלאותיו לבני אדם (השוה תהלים ק"ו, ח'). כי השביע נפש שוקקה ונפש רעבה מלא טוב (שם ט'). לא יבושו בעת רעה ובימי רעבון ישבעו (שם ל"ז י"ט). ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את ה' אלהיך על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך (דברים ה' י'). בית ישראל ברכו את ה' בית אהרן ברכו את ה' (תהלים קל"ה י"ט), בית הלוי ברכו את ה' יראי ה' ברכו את ה' (שם כ'). ברוך ה' מציון שוכן ירושלים הללויה (שם כ"א), ה' עוז לעמו יתן ה' יברך את עמו בשלום (שם כ"ט י"א).

Two other shorter versions also occur, but they throw no further light on the character or derivation of this form of the Grace. The sabbath grace occurs on f. 60a of this volume of the first edition, and differs considerably from the weekday version, mainly, however in the insertion of verses dealing with the sabbath, and verses referring to Jerusalem, and the substitution of Psalm 23 followed by a number of verses for the second paragraph. There are similar and further deviations in the Grace of the Passover eve (II, ff. 31a-33a), Shabu'ot eve (*ibid.* ff. 138a-b), Shabu'ot morning (*ibid.* ff. 161b-162b) etc.

APPENDIX

THE TEXT OF THE FOUR BENEDICTIONS

In establishing the text of the four benedictions of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* an attempt has been made to gather as many versions of it as possible. Of course, the Genizah will continue to offer new readings and it may be that the readings of some of the old prayer books like the *Seder R. Amram* and *Seder R. Saadia* will be corrected by the discovery of new manuscripts. But in general it may be said that the material at present available is sufficient to form a basis for the preceding study. It is the purpose of this Appendix to bring together in one place all the various versions of the benedictions.

No account has been taken of the payyetic compositions⁴⁸ which were sometimes substituted for the standard formulae and more often, especially on festive occasions, added to them. These are many and varied and, like similar compositions that were used in the *Amidah*, throw no light on the development of the ordinary forms. It should be noted, however, that in Palestine the *piyyutim* were permitted to replace the ordinary forms, whereas in the Dispersion they merely supplemented them.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Such have already been published by several scholars (see note 1). Additional material of the same kind is to be found in a number of unpublished manuscripts in Oxford and probably also in other libraries.

⁴⁹ This can be seen from the fact that the *piyyutim* published by Greenstone in *ZfHB*, XV (1911), p. 122 from a Genizah fragment where they replace the body of the benediction, are found in the text published by Schwab (*Le Manuscrit Hébreu* No. 1388) appended to the body of the benediction. These particular *piyyutim* are also found in a manuscript of *Mahzor Romania* in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Professor Marx informs me that he had the opportunity of examining a copy made by Halberstam of another manuscript of *Mahzor Romania* (now at Jews College, Hirschfeld 220) and that the same *piyyutim* are also found there appended to the regular forms of the benediction. The *piyyut* begins with *ואל תפסח*. See regarding it Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, 2116.

The reader will notice that the groups formed on the basis of the similarities in the versions of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* are slightly different from those which grew out of a study of the *Amidah*.⁵⁰ This only proves how complicated a problem it is to determine the method of the spread of the early liturgical formulae. The association of Jewish communities changed from century to century and even from generation to generation. Cross influences are constantly being detected. In view of this it is quite certain that the classification of the various rites which was attempted by early students of the liturgy⁵¹ is in need of revision. Such a revision will enable the historian of mediaeval Judaism to understand, more clearly than is now possible, the relation of the Jewish settlements in Europe to the older communities in Palestine, Babylonia and Egypt, in the centuries before rabbinic literary activity began in Northwestern Africa and Western Europe.

The Spanish text of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* presents an interesting problem. The text now used by Sephardic Jews and which has been published in their prayer books for hundreds of years is quite different from that found in the early editions of their prayer book and in Abudarham. Much more manuscript material than was available for the present study will have to be consulted to clarify this matter. It seems likely that the two versions represent the *Minhagim* of different communities or provinces. I have called the simple version represented by Abudarham and the early editions Sephardic A and the version at present used by Sephardic Jews Sephardic B.

It is interesting to note how often variant expressions for the same thought were combined in later versions. Mention has already been made of the manner in which rites like

⁵⁰ *JQR*, (N.S.), XVI, 132-139.

⁵¹ See Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst*, p. 9.

that of Maimonides adopted both the shorter Palestinian and the longer Babylonian references to the Abrahamic Covenant and the Revelation. In the same way *Seder R. Saadia* and some other versions retain the old reference to the Temple ועל מעונך ועל היכלך as well as the newer form ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש.

The text of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* according to the *Seder R. Amram* is reprinted from Marx, *Untersuchungen zum Seder R. Amram*, and is based on two manuscripts. While it may have suffered slight alterations at the hands of copyists, there is no reason for refusing to accept it as representing as a whole the text used in Babylonia in the time of R. Amram Gaon. It has already been shown that the portion beginning with רענו וננו was known to rabbis of the fourth century⁵² although it is missing in the Genizah fragments, in the *Seder R. Saadia* and in Maimonides. Professor Marx has shown that no importance is to be attached to the omission of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* from the printed text of the *Seder R. Amram* (*Untersuchungen*, p. 12).

The text of *Seder R. Saadia* presented, is based on two manuscripts, the one found in the Bodleian Library, and the other in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

The texts of the Balkan-Italian-Provençal group are so closely interrelated that it was thought best to treat them as a unit. The text of *Mahzor Romania* was chosen as typical because it could be better established and because it showed the distinctive characteristics of the group most clearly. Where the other rites of the group differed from it, the variants are noted.

In the same way the English-French-German group is treated as a unit. In this case the text of *Ez Hayyim* was chosen as typical because it is not readily accessible and

⁵² See above, p. 232.

because it shows individual characteristics of great interest. In the case of both of these groups the reader will find no difficulty in reconstructing any desired text.

Much interest attaches to the ritual of the Persian Jews not only because of its quaintness but also because it has derived so much from other rituals.⁵³

The texts and sources of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* here used are as follows:

Palestine rite (*Genizah* fragments):

1. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 2017) גיזה (ד)
2. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 2835) גיזה (ה)
3. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 2138) גיזה (ו)
4. MS. Dropsie College (Halper 192) גיזה (ז)
5. MS. Oxford (Neubauer 2704)^{53a} גיזה (ח)

Non-Palestinian *Genizah* texts:

6. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 2480) גיזה (ט)
7. MS. Oxford (Neubauer 2714) גיזה (כ)

Seder R. Saadia:

8. MS. Oxford (Neubauer 1096) f. 78a⁵⁴ רסג

⁵³ I have dealt in the following text only with the four benedictions. A comparison of the texts of the remainder of the Grace would have involved too great an expenditure of space and so far as I could see from a study of the various versions did not yield any important results.

^{53a} The variants from the *Genizah* text published by Professor Marmorstein in *Ha-Zofeh* X. 213., which appeared after this article had been sent to press, have been added in proof and are marked (מ) גיזה. Attention should also be called to *Beit Ha-Talmud* V. 351 where Lector Friedmann discusses a number of variant readings of the first benediction.

⁵⁴ I have had the use for this Ms. of photographs in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Cod. Adler 3396).

9. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 4036) f. 33b..... רסג (ב)

Seder R. Amram:

10. Marx, *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*⁵⁵..... סר"ע

Yemen-Maimonides:

11. *Tiklal* (Jerusalem 1894) f. 167b..... תימן (ד')
 12. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Adler 337)..... תימן (כ")
 13. *Yad* (Maimonides) MS. Oxford (Neubauer 577)⁵⁶..... רמבם (כ")
 14. *Yad* (Maimonides) Rome ca. 1480..... רמבם (ד')

Balkan-Italian-Provençal group:

A. *Romania-Kaffa*:

15. *Maḥzor Romania* (Venice 1526) f. 115a..... רומניא
 16. MS. (*Maḥzor Romania*) Jewish Theological Seminary of America..... רומניא (כ")
 17. *Maḥzor Kaffa* (Mezyron 1793) f. 71b..... כפא

B. *Maḥzor Turin*:

18. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America⁵⁷..... טורין

⁵⁵ Published in *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, V (1907).

⁵⁶ Facsimiles of this Ms. were kindly put at my disposal by Professor Moses Hyamson. The parantheses indicate that the word is crossed out in the manuscript. As is well-known this Ms. was collated with the original Ms. of Maimonides.

⁵⁷ At the time of the preparation of this article this Ms., which is a copy made by Dr. Solomon Schechter from the original, was not at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America but had been lent to the library of Cornell University. Through the courtesy of Dr. Abraham Schechter a copy was prepared for me.

C. Italian Prayer Book:

19. Grace and Psalms, Bologna ca. 1582⁵⁸..... (א) רומי
20. Prayer Book, Soncino before 1500⁵⁹..... (ב) רומי
21. Luzzatto's Prayer Book, f. 99b⁶⁰..... (ג) רומי

D. Provençal Prayer Book:

22. *Maḥzor Avignon*, Avignon 1767, f. 46b..... (א) קלא
23. *Haggadah Carpentras*, Amsterdam 1759.... (ק) קלא

English-Northern French-German Group:

24. *Ez Hayyim*,⁶¹ H. Adler in *Steinschneider Festschrift*, Hebrew part, p. 188..... עץ חיים
25. *Maḥzor Vitry*, Berlin 1889, p. 52..... (ד) ויטרי
26. *Maḥzor Vitry*, MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America, f. 24a..... (כ"י) ויטרי
27. *Or Zarua'*, Zhitomir 1862, I, section 199.... (ד) אור
28. *Or Zarua'*, MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of America, f. 142a, b..... (כ"י) אור
29. *Haggadah*, MS. (Worms 1329), Jewish Theological Seminary of America..... הגדה
30. *Mordecai, Berakot*, end^{61a}..... מרדכי

⁵⁸ For this book of which only a unique copy in Parma is known, I have had the use of photographs lent to me by Mr. Moses Marx. At the end of the third benediction which should read:

ובנה את ירושלם עיר קדשך במהרה בימינו [ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלם אמן בחיינו במהרה בימינו] ויבא גואל וינאלנו.

The portion indicated by brackets is omitted by *homoioteleuton*.

⁵⁹ This unicum is found in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

⁶⁰ Most of the early editions of the Italian Prayer Book omit the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. Where the three texts agree I have used the simple designation רומי. Where they differ, the separate symbols are used.

⁶¹ Adler's text is taken from a copy of Ms. Leipzig XVII (Adler 4055-7) now in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

^{61a} Where the readings of the ordinary editions and those of the Riva Edition differ those of the ordinary editions are marked (א) מרדכי and those of the Riva edition (ר) מרדכי. After the article was in press, I received, through the kindness of my friend, Dr. Solomon Grayzel, a photograph of Ms. Paris 407 containing this part of the Mordecai.

31. Ashkenazic Prayer Book,⁶² (ed. Baer),
Roedelheim, 1868, p. 554.....א

Sephardic Rite (Sephardic A):

32. Spanish Prayer Book, Venice 1544, f.
475a.....ספרד (א)
33. *Birkat Ha-Mazon* found in Spanish
Manuscript at the end of *Manhig*, MS.
Jewish Theological Seminary of America
(written in 1380), f. 150b.....ספרד (כ")
34. *Abudraham*, ed. Lisbon, 1489אבודרהם

Sephardic Rite⁶³ (Sephardic B):

35. Sephardic Prayer Book, ed. Gaster,
London 1901, vol. I, p. 60.....ספרד (ב)

Persian Rite:

36. MS. Jewish Theological Seminary of
America (Adler 914), f. 211.....פרס

Wherever this source offers different readings from the printed editions, I have added them with the symbol (כ") מרדכי. The Ms. of *Mordecai* in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America lacks this part.

⁶² I have followed the readings of Baer for the text of the Ashkenazic version, but attention should be called to the following variations in the reading of this version, which is at present probably the most widely known of all. Many prayer books read *כי הוא אל ון* instead of *כי הוא ון* in the first benediction; *הקדושה* instead of *הגדושה* in the third; omit *ברחמי* in the *hatimah* of the third; and read *לעולם אל יחסרנו* instead of *אל יחסרנו* in the fourth.

⁶³ This ritual of the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* is very widespread. It is found in a Genizah fragment (Mann, *H.U.C. Annual*, II.336). From this source it is evident, however, that the poetical portion *עליונו* — *הונינו* was originally intended to be not an addition to the ordinary form but a substitute for it. In some prayer books (e.g. *Seder Berakot*, Amsterdam 1687) the ordinary Spanish form (Sephardic A) is found in the daily service (f. 13a) and this version (Sephardic B) in the Haggadah (f. 113a). But in many prayer books, like Gaster's, it is found as the standard ritual for the whole year. It is interesting to note also that in some prayer books (for example the Amsterdam edition just referred to) the second benediction begins with the words *על ארצנו ועל נחלת אבותינו* although otherwise there is no serious deviation from the text as given herein.

I

ברכת הזן

הנוסח המקורי	נוסח א"י מן הגניזה	נוסח חז"ל מן הגניזה (ברכת המזון לשבת)
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הזן את העולם כלו בטוב בחסד וברחמים. וברוך אתה ה' הזן את הכל.]	ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הזן את העולם כלו בטוב בחסד וברחמים ² נותן ³ לחם לכל בשר וכי ⁴ לעולם חסדו עמנו ⁵ וטובו הגדול ⁶ לא חסד ⁷ לנו ואל ⁷ יחסד ⁸ לנו כל טוב ⁹ בעבור שמו הגדול כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל ¹⁰]. ברוך אתה ה' הזן את הכל.	ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הזן את העולם כולו בטוב בחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מזון לכל בריותיו. ברוך אתה ה' הזן את הכל. °

VARIANTS I

- 1 בחסד] גניזה ג, ובחסד, גניזה ה, גניזה מ, בחן בחסד.
- 2 וברחמים] גניזה ג, ורחמים. גניזה מ, ברוח ברחמים הרבים.
- 3 נותן] גניזה ה, נתן.
- 4 כי] גניזה א, המוסגר חסד.
- 5 עמנו] גניזה ו, ל'. [ובמקומו כתוב, חסדו עור הפעם].
- 6 הגדול] גניזה ה, <לחם>.
- 7 חסד] גניזה ג, יחסר [וכן נקוד בכ"י].
- 7a ואל-טוב] גניזה מ, כן אל יחסרנו מלכינו מזון מעטה ועד עולם.
- 8 יחסר] גניזה ג, יחסר [נקוד בכ"י].
- 9 כל טוב] גניזה ו, מזון וכל טוב.
- 10 לכל] גניזה ג, <כאמור פותח את ידיך ומשביע לכל חי רצון>. גניזה ו, <ושלחנו ערוך לכל (1)>. גניזה מ, והתקין מ זן מחיה לכל אשר ברא.

סדר רב עמרם	סדר רב סעדיה גאון נע"פ שני כ"י	רמבם (ד' וכ"י) עם שניים מנוסח תימן (ד' וכ"י)
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הון את העולם כלו בטוב ובחסד וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל והתקין מזון לכל בריותיו. ברוך אתה ה' הון את הכל.	ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הון את העולם כלו בטוב בחן בחסד ¹² וברחמים. ברוך אתה ה' הון את הכל.	ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך העולם הון את העולם כולו (בטוב בחסד ¹³) וברחמים ¹⁴ וטוב ¹⁵ הגדול ¹⁶ לא חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו ¹⁷ לעולם ועד כי הוא זן ¹⁸ ומפרנס לכל כאמור פותח את ידיך ומשביע לכל ¹⁹ חי רצון ומכין מזון לכל בריותיו אשר ברא. ברוך אתה ה' הון את הכל.

- 11 כלו >בעבור שמו הגדול>.
12 וברחמים או >נותן לחם לכל בשר כי לעולם חסדו וטובו הגדול לחם לא
חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו תמיד לעולם ועד כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל>.
13 המוסר ברמבם כ"י על הגליון. תכלאל, בטוב בחן בחסד. תימן כ"י בטוב
בחסד. רמבם נדפס, בטוב בחן ובחסד.
14 ברחמים תימן כ"י ורמבם נדפס, וברחמים:
15 וטובו תימן כ"י, ובטובו. רמבם נדפס, וטובו הגדול ... כי הוא זן, ל'.
16 הגדול תימן כ"י, >לחם>.
17 לנו תימן כ"י, >אבינו מזון>.
18 זון תכלאל, >ומזין>.
19 לכל תימן כ"י, >ושלחנו ערוך לכל>.
20 הון תכלאל, >ברחמיו>.

נוסח ספרד (א) עם שניים
מכ"י ומספר אבודרהם
נוסח רומניא עם שניים מכ"י
ומנוסחי כפא, קלא, מ'
טורין, ומ' רומי
נוסח ארץ האי (עץ חיים)
עם שניים מנוסח אשכנז, מחזור
ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), או"ז (ד' וכ"י),
מרדכי, והגדה (כ"י)

ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם הזן את העולם
כלו 21 בחן בחסד
וברחמים נותן לחם לכל
בשר כי לעולם חסדו
וטובו 22 הגדול חמיד
לא חסר לנו 23 ואל
יחסר לנו 24 מזון תמיד 25
לעולם ועד כי הוא זן
ומפרנס לכל כאמור
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם הזנונו 26 הזן את
העולם כלו 27 בטובו 28
בחן בחסד וברחמים 29
ובחסדיו 30 הרבים כי 31
הוא נותן לחם לכל
בשר כי לעולם חסדו
חסדו 32 לעד יהא עמנו
ובטובו 33 הגדול ימלא 34
חסרוננו בעבור שמו

21 כלן אבודרהם, <בטובו> ספרד כ"י <בטוב>.

22 וטובו ספרד כ"י, ובטובו.

23 לנו ספרד כ"י, ל'.

24 לנו מזון תמיד ספרד כ"י, ל'.

25 תמיד לעולם ועד אבודרהם, (ז).

26 הזנונו רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), טורין ל'.

27 כלן רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), <בעבור שמו הגדול>.

28 בטובו טורין, בטוב, רומי (ב), <בטוב>.

29 וברחמים רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), טורין, וברחמים.

30 ובחסדיו הרבים רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), טורין, ל'.

31 כי הוא רומניא (כ"י), ל' טורין, רומי, הוא, קלא (א), קלא (ק), כאמור.

32 חסדו לעד יהא שדל, קלא (א), קלא (ק), ובחסדו הגדול יהיה. רומי (א),

וחסדו הגדול יהיה. טורין, ל'.

33 ובטובו הגדול רומי (א), וטובו. רומניא (כ"י) ומטובו הגדול. שדל, רומי (ב),

קלא (א), קלא (ק), ל' טורין, בטובו הגדול.

34 ימלא... הגדול שדל, רומי (ב), קלא (א), קלא (ק), ל' טורין, לא חסר לנו

ואל יחסר לנו מזון לעולם ועד. רומי (א) אל יחסר לנו.

35 בטובו מרדכי, ל'. אור זרוע (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), הגדה, א, בטובו.

36 בחן מרדכי, או"ז (ד' וכ"י), ל'.

37 וברחמים הגדה, ברחמים. א, <הוא>.

38 חסדו ויטרי (ד), <עמנו>.

39 ובטובו הגדה, בטובו. ויטרי (כ"י) <עמנו>.

40 הגדול או"ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), א, <תמיד>.

41 לא חסרנו דבר או"ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), הגדה, א, לא חסר לנו. מרדכי

(א), הוא לא חסר. מרדכי (ד' וכ"י), לא חסר.

42 מזון ויטרי (ד), או"ז (כ"י), הגדה, ל'.

פוח את ידך ומשביע הגדול כי הוא אל 44 זן הוא 51 זן 52 ומפרנס
לכל חי רצון. 43 ברוך מרחם 45 ומפרנס 46 ומטיב 54 לכל ומכין 55
אתה יי' הון את הכל. ומכלכל 47 ומכין מחיה 48 ומוזן 56
לכל ברוך אתה יי' הון את ומזון 57 לכל בריותי 48 וברך אתה יי' הון את
ולכל מעשה ידיו אשר 49 הכל. ברא 50 ברוך אתה יי' הון את הכל.

נוסח פרס

בא"י אמ"ה האל הון אותנו ואת כל העולם כלו בטוב בחן בחסד בריוח וברחמים רבים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי לעולם חסדו וחסדו יי' הגדול והקדוש כי הוא אל זן ומפרנס לכל ושלחנו ערוך לכל והתקין מחיה ומוזן לכל בריותיו ולכל אשר ברא ברחמי וברוב חסדיו לקיים פוח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון רצון תעטרנו ומוזן תכלכלנו והוא יכלכלנו והוא יפרנסנו בכבוד ולא בבזוי ואברהם זקן בא בימים וה' ברך את אברהם בכל. בא"י הון את הכל.

נוסח ספרד (ב)

בא"י אמ"ה הוננו ולא ממעשנו המפרנסנו ולא מצדקותינו המעדיף טוב עלינו הון אותנו ואת כל העולם כלו בטוב בחן בחסד ברוח וברחמים נותן לחם לכל בשר כי לעולם חסדו וטובו הגדול תמיד לא חסר לנו ואל יחסר לנו מזון תמיד לעולם ועד כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל ושלחנו ערוך לכל והתקין מחיה ומוזן לכל בריותיו אשר ברא ברחמי וברוב חסדיו כאמור פוח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון. בא"י הון את הכל.

43 רצון] ספרד כ"י <ומכין מזון לכל בריותיו אשר ברא>.

44 אל] קלא (א), טורין ל'.

45 מרחם] רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), טורין. ל'.

46 ומפרנס] רומי, מפרנס.

47 ומכלכל . . ומזון] שדל, קלא (ק), רומי (ב), ומכלכל את הכל ומכין מזון.

קלא (א), לכל ושלחנו ערוך לכל ומכין מזון. טורין, לכל ומתקין מזון, רומי (א) ומכלכל לכל ומכין מזון.

48 בריותיו . . ידיו] טורין בריה.

49 ימלא חסרוננו . . אשר ברא] רומניא (כ"י), לא חסרנו ואל יחסר לנו מזון לעולם ועד.

50 ברא] רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (א), קלא (ק), <כאמור פוח את ידך ומשביע

לכל חי רצון>.

51 הוא] א, <אל>.

52 ון] מרדכי, <באכילה (?)>.

53 ומפרנס] מרדכי <בשאר צרכים (?)>. או'ז' (ד') וכ"י) ויטרי (ד') וכ"י), הגדה,

א, <לכל>.

54 ומטיב לכל] מרדכי (?), או'ז' (ד') וכ"י), ויטרי (ד'), ל'.

55 ומכין . . הבריות] מרדכי, ויטרי (ד'), כאמור פוח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון.

56 הבריות] הגדה, אשר ברא. א, או'ז' (ד') וכ"י), ויטרי (ד') וכ"י), בריותיו אשר ברא.

II

ברכת הארץ

הנוסח המקורי

נוסח א' מן הגניזה

נוסח חז"ל מן הגניזה

נודה לך ה' א' כי
הנחלתנו ארץ חמדה
ולאכול מפריה ולשבוע
מטובה (?). ברוך
אתה ה' על הארץ ועל
המזון.

נודהו לך ה' א' כי
הנחלתנו ארץ חמדה
טובה ורחבה ברית
ותורה חיים⁴ ושלום⁵
ועל כולם⁶ אנו מודים
לך ומברכים את שמך
הגדול והקדוש לעולם
ועד. ברוך אתה ה' על
הארץ ועל המזון.

נודה לך ה' א'
ונפאירך מלכינו ונשבחך
יצרנו ונהדרך מושיענו
ונמליכך יחיד חי
העולמים שהנחלתנו ארץ
חמדה טובה ורחבה
ברית ותורה [וחיים]
ומזון [ועל] שהוצאתנו
מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו
מבית עבדים על בריתך
שחתמת בבשרנו ועל
תורתך שלמדתנו ועל
חקי רצונך שהודעתנו
על חיים חן וחסד
ומונות שאתה גומל
עלינו בכל עת ובכל
שעה. על הכל ה' א'
אנו מודים לך ומברכים
את שמך תמיד לעולם
ועד ונודה לך על
נחלת אבותינו והנסק
לנו מהרה משונאינו.
ברוך אתה ה' על
הארץ ועל המזון.

VARIANTS II

- 1 נודה [נודה] ג, גניזה ה, גניזה ו, על ארצנו ועל נחלת אבותינו נודה.
 - 2 כי הנחלתנו [נחלתנו] ג, שהנחלתנו. גניזה מ, כי הנחלת את אבותינו.
 - 3 ורחבה [נחלתנו] ג, ל'.
 - 4 חיים [נחלתנו] ג, גניזה ה, וחיים.
 - 5 ושלום [נחלתנו] ג, גניזה ה, גניזה מ, ומזון. גניזה א, (?).
 - 6 כולם [נחלתנו] ג, הכל. גניזה א, <ה' אלהינו>.
 - 7 הגדול ... לעולם ועד [נחלתנו] ג, גניזה א, גניזה ג, (?). גניזה ו, יתברך שמך לעולם ונעד.
- גניזה מ, ל'.

סדר רב עמרם	סדר רב סעדיה גאון	רמבם
נודה לך ה' א' ארץ חמדה מובה ורחבה שרצית והנחלת את אבותינו ועל ברייתך ששמת בבשרנו ועל חורה שנתת לנו ועל חיים וחסד וחן ומזון שאתה מלוה אותנו בכל עת ועל כלם ה' א' אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך יתברך שמך תמיד עלינו לעולם ועד. ברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.	נודה לך ה' א' כי הנחלתנו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית ותורה חיים ומזון ועל כלם אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך ⁸ לעולם ועד. ברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.	נודה לך ה' אלהינו ונברכך מלכינו כי הנחלתנו (והנחלת) ⁹ את אבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית ותורה (חיים ומזון) ¹⁰ ועל ¹¹ שהוצאתנו מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו מבית עבדים על ¹² תורתך שלמדתנו על ¹³ חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו ועל ¹⁴ כולם ה' א' אנו מודים לך ומברכים את שמך כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את ה' א' על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך. ברוך אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון.

⁸ שמך רס"ג ב, <הגדול והקדוש>.

⁹ המניה העביר שיטה על 'והנחלת' ואפשר שהיה בדעתו למחוק את המלה 'הנחלתנו'. רמבם נדפס, תכלאל, תימן כ"י, כי הנחלת את אבותינו.

¹⁰ חיים ומזון ברמבם כ"י נמחק, ובנדפס ובתכלאל ל', אבל בתימן כ"י איתא.

¹¹ ועל רמבם נדפס, על.

¹² על תכלאל, ועל.

¹³ על תכלאל ותימן כ"י, ועל.

¹⁴ ועל רמבם נדפס, על.

- נוסח ספרד (א) נוסח רומניא נוסח ארץ האי (עץ חיים)
- נודה¹⁵ לך ה' א' על¹⁶ על²² ארצנו ועל³² נודך ה' א' על³³ נודה¹⁵ לך ה' א' על¹⁶ על²² ארצנו ועל³² נודך ה' א' על³³
- שהנחלת¹⁷ לאבותינו¹⁸ נחלתנו נודה לך ה' א' שהנחלת¹⁷ לאבותינו¹⁸ נחלתנו נודה לך ה' א' שהנחלת¹⁷ לאבותינו¹⁸
- ארץ חמדה טובה נפארך²³ מלכנו²⁴ ארץ חמדה טובה נפארך²³ מלכנו²⁴ ארץ חמדה טובה נפארך²³ מלכנו²⁴
- ורחבה ברית ותורה נהדרך²⁵ מושיענו²⁶ ורחבה ברית ותורה נהדרך²⁵ מושיענו²⁶ ורחבה ברית ותורה נהדרך²⁵ מושיענו²⁶
- חיים ומזון על שהוצאתנו ונמליכך מלכנו ומלך²⁷ חיים ומזון על שהוצאתנו ונמליכך מלכנו ומלך²⁷ חיים ומזון על שהוצאתנו ונמליכך מלכנו ומלך²⁷
- מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו יחיד חי העולמים²⁸ מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו יחיד חי העולמים²⁸ מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו יחיד חי העולמים²⁸
- מבית עבדים על ברייתך שרצית²⁹ והנחלת את מבית עבדים על ברייתך שרצית²⁹ והנחלת את מבית עבדים על ברייתך שרצית²⁹ והנחלת את
- שחתמת¹⁸ בבשרינו ועל¹⁹ אבותינו³⁰ ארץ חמדה שחתמת¹⁸ בבשרינו ועל¹⁹ אבותינו³⁰ ארץ חמדה שחתמת¹⁸ בבשרינו ועל¹⁹ אבותינו³⁰ ארץ חמדה
- חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו²⁰ טובה ורחבה ברית חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו²⁰ טובה ורחבה ברית חוקי רצונך שהודעתנו²⁰ טובה ורחבה ברית
- על²¹ חיים ומזון שאתה ותורה וחיים³¹ ומזון על²¹ חיים ומזון שאתה ותורה וחיים³¹ ומזון על²¹ חיים ומזון שאתה ותורה וחיים³¹ ומזון
- 1 15 נודה [ספרד (כ"י), על ארצנו ועל נחלתנו נודה.
16 על [ספרד (כ"י), ל'.
17 שאבותינו [ספרד (כ"י), את אבותינו.
18 שחתמת [ספרד (כ"י) ששמת.
19 ועל [ספרד (כ"י) על.
20 חוקי ... שהודעתנו [ספרד (כ"י), תורתך שלמדתנו.
21 ועל ... אותנו [ספרד (כ"י), ל'.
22 על ... נחלתנו טורין, רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ל'. רומניא (כ"י) >ועל נחלת
אבותינו<.
23 נפארך [רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ונפארך.
24 מלכנו [רומי, קלא (א' וק') >ונשבחך יוצרנו<.
25 נהדרך [רומי, קלא (א' וק') ונהדרך.
26 נפארך ... מושיענו טורין, ונשבחך מלכנו ונפארך יוצרנו ונהדרך נואלנו ונהללך
מושיענו ונקדישך בוראינו.
27 מלכנו ומלך [טורין, מלך. רומי, קלא (א' וק') מלכנו מלך.
28 נפארך ... העולמים רומניא (כ"י) ל'.
29 שרצית והנחלת רומניא (כ"י) על שרצית והנחלת. טורין, שהנחלת. רומי,
קלא (א' וק') על שהנחלת.
30 את אבותינו רומי, קלא (א' וק') לאבותינו.
31 ותורה וחיים [קלא (א' וק'), רומניא (כ"י), רומי (ב), ותורה חיים. רומי (א).
תורת חיים.
32 נודך [מרדכי (ר'), נודה, א, ויטרי (כ"י), נודה לך.
33 ורחבה [ויטרי (כ"י), וברכה. ויטרי (ד' וכ"י) >ברית ותורת חיים ומזון<.
34 על [מרדכי, או' (ד'), הגדה, א, ועל.
35 שהוצאתנו א, >ה' אלהינו<.
36 מארץ מצרים [ויטרי (כ"י) ממצרים.
37 ועל [ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), מרדכי (כ"י), על.
38 ועל תורתך שלמדתנו הגדה, ל'.
39 ועל ... שהודעתנו או' (ד' וכ"י), ל'. וכן ליחא ברש"י ברכות מ"ח ע"ב ד"ה
צריך שיקדים].
40 חוקי רצונך [מרדכי (ר' וא'), א, חוקיך.
41 חן [מרדכי (ר' וא'), ל'. וכן ליחא ברש"י ברכות שם].
42 וחסד [או' (כ"י) >ומזון<. וברש"י ברכות שם ל'.

זון וכפרנס אִתְּנוּ וְעַל²² וְעַל²⁴ שְׁהוּצָאֲתוּ²⁵ שְׁחַנְתָּנוּ וְעַל אֲכִילַת³⁷
 הַכֶּלֶס²³ ה' א' אֲנוּ מוֹדִים מֵאֲרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּפְדִיתָנוּ²⁶ מִזֶּמֶר³⁸ שְׁאֵתָה³⁹ זון
 לך וּמִבְרַכִּין אֶת שִׁמְךָ מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים וְעַל²⁷ וּמִפְרָנס אֲוֹתָנוּ⁴⁰ בְּכָל⁴¹
 כָּאֲמֹר וְאֲכַלְתָּ וּשְׁבַעְתָּ בְּרִיתְךָ שְׁחַתַּמְתָּ בִּבְשָׁרֵנוּ יוֹם וּבְכָל עֵת וּבְכָל שְׁעָה
 וּבִרְכַּת אֶת ה' א' עַל וְעַל הַכֶּלֶס⁴² ה' א' אֲנַחְנוּ⁴³ וְעַל הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן
 לָךְ. בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' עַל שְׁהוּדַעְתָּנוּ וְעַל חַיִּים וְעַל הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָךְ
 חֵן וְהִסְדֵּךְ²⁸ וּמִזֶּמֶר³⁰ שְׁאֵתָה³¹ חֲנוּן וּמְלוּחָה³² אֲוֹתָנוּ³³ בְּכָל יוֹם בְּכָל
 עֵת³³ בְּכָל שְׁעָה³⁴ וּבְכָל זֶמֶן³⁵ וְעַל הַכֶּלֶס³⁶ ה' הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָךְ

- 22 ועל[ספרד (כ"י) על.
 23 הכל[אבודרהם, ספרד (כ"י), כלם.
 24 ועל[רומניא (כ"י), קלא (ק), רומי (א), ב) על.
 25 שהוצאתנו[רומי, קלא (ק), <ה' אלהינו>.
 26 ופדיתנו[קלא (א' וק'), רומי (א), רומי (ב), <מלכנו>.
 27 ועל[רומניא, קלא (ק), על.
 28 חן[טורין, וכן.
 29 חן וחסד[קלא (א' וק'), רומי, ל'. ועל חיים .. וחסד, רומניא (כ"י), ל'.
 30 ומוזון[טורין, ורחמים ומוזנות. רומניא (כ"י), ועל אכילת מזון.
 31 חונן ומלוה[רומי, קלא (א וק') זון ומפרנס.
 32 אותנו[רומי, קלא (א' וק') <חמיד>.
 33 בכל עת[רומניא (כ"י), קלא (א), ל'. רומי, טורין, קלא (ק) ובכל עת.
 34 בכל שעה[רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (א' וק') ובכל שעה, טורין, ל'.
 35 ובכל זמן[רומניא (כ"י), טורין, ל'. רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ובכל רגע.
 36 ועל הכל[רומי, קלא (א' וק') על הכל. טורין, ועל כולם.
 37 ועל אכילת מזון .. ובכל שעה[או'ז (ד' וכ"י), ל'.
 38 אכילת מזון[מרדכי (א וכ"י), אכילה ומוזון.
 39 שאתה .. אותנו[מרדכי, שאתה מומן לנו ושאתה מפרנסנו.
 40 אותנו[א, הנדה, <חמיד>.
 41 בכל יום ... שעה[מרדכי, בכל עת.
 42 ועל הכל[מרדכי (א' ור'), או'ז (ד' וכ"י) נורש'י ברכות מ'ט ע"א ד"ה תחלה
 וסוף[ועל כולם, ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), מרדכי (כ"י), על כולם.
 43 אנתנו[או'ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), מרדכי (ר' וא), אנו.
 44 אותך[מרדכי (א', ור') את שמך. או'ז (ד'), לך.
 45 יתברך[או'ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד'), ויתברך.
 46 יתברך שמך לעולם ועד[מרדכי, ל'.
 47 בפה[מרדכי, או'ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד'), א, בפי.
 48 ועד[או'ז (כ"י), ל'.

א' אנו⁴⁹ מודים לך ונודה⁶¹ לך על הארץ
ומברכים את שמך⁵⁰ ועל המזונות. ברוך
תמיד אלהי ישענו⁵¹ אתה ה' על הארץ ועל
הנקם⁵² לנו מצרינו ובטובך⁵⁴ תשביע את
נפשנו⁵⁵ ונודה לך ה'
א' על נחלתנו ועל
נחלת אבותינו⁵⁷ תושיבנו
ותושיענו ותנחילנו⁵⁸
ותטעני בגבולנו⁵⁹
ככתוב ואכלת ושבעת
וברכת את ה' א' על
הארץ הטובה אשר נתן
לך. ⁶⁰ ברוך אתה ה'
על הארץ ועל המזון.

- 49 אנו קלא (ק) אנונו.
50 את שמך טורין, את שם קודשך. רומניא (כ'י), לשם קדשך.
51 אלהי ישענו רומניא (כ'י) בפה כל חי תמיד לעולם ועד ... וכתוב ואכלת
ושבעת וברכת את ה' א' על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לך. טורין, <תחברך בפי כל חי
ויתפאר שמך עלינו לעולם ועד כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את ה' אלהיך על הארץ
הטובה אשר נתן לך>.
52 והנקם רומניא (כ'י), וזכור לנו ה' אלהינו את ברית אבותינו והנקם.
53 והנקם לנו ... בגבולנו טורין, וזכור לנו ה' אלהינו את ברית אבותינו והנקמו
משנאינו ובישועתך תרום ותגבה קרנינו ותושיענו כל החיים יודוך סלה.
54 ובטובך כפא, רומניא (כ'י) ומטובך.
55 ובטובך ... נפשנו רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ל'.
56 ה' א' רומי, קלא (א' וק') ל'.
57 על ... אבותינו רומי, קלא (א' וק'), על נחלת אבותינו.
58 תושיבנו ... ותנחילנו רומי, קלא (א' וק') ל'.
59 ותטענו בגבולנו רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ועל מזונות שחננתנו.
60 תושיבנו ... לך רומניא (כ'י), ל'.
61 ונודה לך ... המזונות ויטרי (כ'י) [על הגליון], ונודה לשמך על הארץ ועל
המזונות. הגדה, ונודה לשמך הגדול סלה באמת. ארז (ד' וכ'י), וזכור לנו ה' וכי
<אלקינו> מהרה את ברית אבותינו ונקמינו מהרה משנאינו ובישועתך תרים ותגביה
קרנו וכל החיים יודוך סלה. א, ויטרי (ד'), מרדכי, ל'.

נוסח פרס

נוטח ספרד (ב)

על ארצנו ועל נחלתנו ועל הגליון:
ועל נחלת אבותינו נודה לך ה' א'
כי הנחלתנו והנחלת את אבותינו
על ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה ברית
ותורה חיים ומזון ועל שהוצאתנו
מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו מבית עבדים
ועל בריתך שחתמת בבשרנו ועל
תורתך חורת משה רבנו שלמדנו ועל
חקי רצונך שהודעתנו ועל חן וחסד
ורחמים שאתה חונן ומלוה אותנו בכל
רגע ובכל זמן. ועל הכל ה' א' אנו
מודים לך ומברכים את שמך יתברך
שמך בפי כל חי תמיד לעולם ועד
כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת את
ה' א' על הארץ הטובה אשר נתן
לך. בא"י על הארץ ועל המזון.

נודה לך ה' א' על שהנחלת
לאבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה
ברית ותורה חיים ומזון על שהוצאתנו
מארץ מצרים ופדיתנו מבית עבדים
ועל בריתך שחתמת בבשרנו ועל
חקי רצונך שהודעתנו ועל חיים ומזון
שאתה זן ומפרנס אותנו. ועל הכל
ה' א' אנו מודים לך ומברכים את
שמך כאמור ואכלת ושבעת וברכת
את ה' אלהיך על הארץ הטובה
אשר נתן לך. בא"י על הארץ ועל
המזון.

III

ברכת ירושלם

נוסח א' מן הננייה

הנוסח המקורי

רחם ה' א' על ישראל
 עמך ועל ירושלם עירך
 ועל ציון משכן כבודך
 ועל מזבחך ועל היכלך.
 ברוך אתה ה' בונה
 ירושלם.
 רחם ה' א' על
 ישראל² עמך ועל³
 ירושלם עירך ועל^{3a}
 מלכות בית דוד משיחך
 ועל הבית הגדול
 והקדוש שנקרא שמך
 עליו ומלכות בית
 דוד מהרה תחזירה⁴
 למקומה בימינו וּבִבְנֵה⁵
 ירושלם בקרוב והעלינו
 לתוכה ושמחינו בה
 ברוך אתה ה' בונה^{5a}
 ברחמיך את ירושלם,
 אמן. בימינו⁶ תבנה.

VARIANTS III

- 1 ה' א' גיזה א, <ברחמיך הרבים ובחסדיך הגדולים ובטוביך הנאמנים>.
 2 על ישראל גיזה א, גיזה מ, עלינו ועל ישראל.
 3 ועל... עירך גיזה א, ועל ציון משכן כבודך. גיזה מ, ועל ירושלם עירך ועל
 ציון משכן כבודך.
 3a ועל-משיחך גיזה מ, ל'.
 4 תחזירה גיזה א, תחזיר.
 5 ובנה גיזה א, המוסגר ל'. גיזה מ, בימינו ובנה ירושלם בקרוב בנין עולם והעלנו
 לתוכה.
 5a בונה גיזה מ, הבונה.
 6 בימינו תבנה גיזה א, ל'.

סדר רב עמרם	סדר רב סעדיה גאון	רמבם
רחם ה' א' על ישראל עמך וְלֹא יְרוּשָׁלַם עִירָךְ ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו ואבינו מלכנו רועינו זננו מפרגסנו מכלכלנו הרוח לנו מהרה מצרותינו ואל תצריכנו לידי מתנת בשר ודם שמתנחם מעוטה וחרפתם מרובה בשם קדשך הגדול והנורא בטחנו ויבא אליהו ומשיח בן דוד בחינו ומלכות בית דוד ומשיחך: מהרה תחזור למקומה ומלוך עלינו כי אתה לבדך והושיענו למען שמך והעלנו לתוכה ושמחנו בה ונחמנו בציון עירך. ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים.	רחם ה' א' על ישראל עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל היכלך ועל מעונך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש אשר (אתה) 9 שמך נקרא עליו ומלכות בית דוד 10 למקומה בימינו ובנה את ירושלם בקרוב. 11 ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלם אמן.	רחם ה' א' על ישראל [ועל] עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו ומלכות בית דוד משיחך תחזור 12 למקומה בימינו 13 ובנה את 14 ירושלם 15 בקרוב 16 דברת. 17 ברוך אתה ה' בונה 18 ברחמי את ירושלם אמן.

7 המוסגר חסר בכ"י א':

8 ועל היכלך ... משכן כבודך] רס"ג ב', ל'.

9 (אתה) שמך נקרא] רס"ג כ"י א, אתה שמך נקרא. רס"ג ב', אשר נקרא שמך.

10 דוד] רס"ג ב', דוד <מהרה>.

11 בקרוב] רס"ג ב', <בנין ב"י <במהרה בימינו> והעלינו לתוכה ושמחנו בה>.

12 תחזור] רמבם נדפס, תכלאל, תימן (כ"י), תחזיר:

13 בימינו] תימן כ"י, במהרה בימינו:

14 את] רמבם נדפס, תכלאל, ל':

15 ירושלם] תימן כ"י, תכלאל, <עירך>:

16 בקרוב] תימן כ"י, תכלאל, ל':

17 דברת] תימן כ"י, <ובנה אותה בנין עולם במהרה בימינו>.

18 בונה] תימן כ"י, הבונה.

נוסח ספרד (א)	נוסח רומניא	נוסח ארץ האי (עץ חיים)
רחם ה' א' עלינו ועל ישראל עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל הר19 ציון משכן כבודך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו אבינו רוענו זוננו פרנסנו20 כלכלנו הרויחנו הרוח21 לנו מהרה מכל צרותינו ואל22 תצריכנו ה' א' לידי מתנות בשר ודם ולא23 לידי הלואתם שמתנתם מעוטה וחרפתם מרובה אלא	ורחם24 ה' א' עלינו25 ועל ישראל עמך26 ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו ועלינו27 אבינו28 רעינו זוננו פרנסנו וכלכלנו הרויחנו הרוח לנו29 מהרה מכל צרותינו ואל30 נא תבטיחנו ואל נא30א תביאנו לידי מתנת בשר ודם ולא31 לידי	רחם ה' א' על32 ירושלם עירך ועל ציון משכן כבודך ועלינו33 ועל כל ישראל עמך ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך ועל34 הבית הגדול והקדוש35 מהרה36 תקימנו37 אלהינו38 רעינו זוננו פרנסנו39 וכלכלנו40 והרויחנו41 והרוח לנו ה' א' מהרה42 מכל צרותינו43 ואל44

19 הר' אבודרהם, ל'.

20 פרנסנו וכלכלנו] ספרד (כ'), מפרנסנו מכלכלנו.

21 הרוח] אבודרהם, והרויח.

22 ואל] ספרד (כ'), אל.

23 ולא ... והרחבה] אבודרהם, ספרד (כ'), ל'.

24 ורחם] טורין, רומי, קלא (א' וק'), רומניא (כ'), רחם.

25 עלינו ועל] רומניא (כ') על. טורין עלינו ועל כל. רומי (א), עלינו על.

26 עמך] רומי, קלא (א' וק'), רומניא (כ'), טורין, <ועל ירושלם עירך>.

27 ועלינו] קלא (א), ל'.

28 אבינו] טורין, ל'. רומניא (כ') רומי (א) רומי (ב), <מלכנו>.

29 לנו] רומי, קלא (א' וק') <ה' א'>.

30 ואל נא ... תביאנו] טורין, רומניא (כ'), ואל תצריכנו ה' א'. שדל, קלא

(א' וק') ונא אל תצריכנו ה' א'. רומי (א), ואל תצריכנו ה' א' עוד.

30א נא] רומי (ב), ל'.

31 ולא ... הלואתם] טורין, רומי (ב), כפא, ל'.

32 על] א, מרדכי, על ישראל עמך ועל. ויטרי (כ'), אויז' ד' וכי', הגדה, עלינו

ועל ישראל עמך ועל. ויטרי (ד'), עלינו ועל כל ישראל עמך ועל.

33 ועלינו ... עמך] א, מרדכי, אויז' ד' וכי', ויטרי (ד' וכי'), ל'.

34 ועל הבית ... אבינו] מרדכי, ל'.

35 והקדוש] הגדה, א, אויז' ד' וכי', ויטרי (כ') <שנקרא שמך עליו>. ויטרי (ד')

<שנקרא שמך עליו ועלינו>.

36 מהרה ... למקוטו] א, אויז' ד' וכי', ויטרי (ד'), ל'.

37 תקימנו] ויטרי (כ'), תחזירנה. הגדה, <ותחזירנה>.

38 אלהינו] אויז' ד', ל'.

39 אבינו] ויטרי (כ'), <מלכנו>.

40 וכלכלנו] אויז' ד' וכי', כלכלנו.

41 והרויחנו והרוח] אויז' ד' וכי', הרויחנו הרויח.

42 ה' א' מהרה] מרדכי, ל'. אויז' ד', א, מהרה, ל'.

43 צרותינו] אויז' ד', שונאינו.

44 ואל] א, נא אל. ויטרי (ד') ואל נא.

לידך המלאה והרחבה	הלואתם ⁴⁸	לפי ⁴⁹	תצריכנו ה' 59' א' 60' לדי
שלא ⁴² נבוש בעולם ⁴³	שמתנתם	מעוטה	מתנות ⁶¹ בשר ודם ולא
הזה ולא נכלם לעולם ⁴⁴	וחרפתם מרובה ⁵⁰ אלא	אלא	לידי הלואתם ⁶² ולא
הבא ומלכות בית דוד	לידך ⁵¹	הטובה ⁵²	נבוש ⁶³ לעולם ועד
משיח במהרה תחזירנה	המלאה	העשירה	ותבנה ⁶⁴ ירושלם עיר
למקומה ותבנה ⁴⁵ בית	השבעה	הפתוחה	הקדש ⁶⁵ במהרה בימינו.
המקדש בימינו, ברוך	הרחבה ⁵³ שלא ⁵⁴ נבוש	נבוש	ברוך אתה ה' מנחם ⁶⁶
אתה ה' בונה ברחמינו ⁴⁶	בעולם הזה ⁵⁵ ולא נכלם	לחיי העולם הבא ⁵⁶	ציון עירו ובונה ירושלם.
ירושלם, אמן. בחיינו ⁴⁷	כי ⁵⁷ בשם קדשך הגדול	קוינו ⁵⁸ הראנו נחמה	
תבנה עיר ציון ותכון	ישועה בקרוב בימינו		
העבודה בירושלם.			

42 שלא] אבודרהם, לא.

43 בעולם הזה] ספרד (כ"י), אבודרהם, ל'.

44 לעולם הבא] אבודרהם, ל'. ספרד (כ"י), לעולם ועד כי בשם קדשך הגדול והנורא בטחנו.

45 ותבנה ... בימינו] אבודרהם, ספרד (כ"י), ובנה [כ"י] ירושלם עיר קדשך [כ"י] <במהרה> בימינו.

46 ברחמינו] אבודרהם, ספרד (כ"י), ל'.

47 בחיינו ... [בירושלם] ספרד (כ"י) ל'. אבודרהם (?).

48 הלואתם] שדל, רומי (א), קלא (א' וק'), הלואת אדם.

49 לפי] טורין, קלא (ק), ל'.

50 לפי ... מרובה] רומי, קלא (א), ל'.

51 לידך] רומניא (כ"י), מידך.

52 הטובה ... והרחבה] טורין, המלאה והרחבה והנוראה כי בשם קדשך הגדול והנורא בטחנו. רומי (א), המלאה הרחבה והפתוחה והשבעה. רומי (ב), שדל, המלאה הרחבה הפתוחה והשבעה והטובה. קלא (א' וק') המלאה והרחבה הפתוחה והשבעה הטובה.

53 הרחבה] רומניא (כ"י), ל'.

54 שלא] רומי, קלא (א' וק'), אשר לא. טורין, לא.

55 בעולם הזה] טורין, ל'.

56 לחיי העולם הבא] רומניא (כ"י) לעולם הבא. טורין, לא בעוה"ז ולא לעוה"ב.

57 כי בשם ... ולישועתך קוינו] טורין, רומניא (כ"י), ל'.

58 קוינו ... קוינו] רומי, [רומי (ב), <והקדוש>] והנורא בטחנו ויבא אליהו

הנביא ומשיח בן דוד עבדך במהרה בימינו ויביאו לנו שמועה טובה מארץ מרחק.

59 ה' א' ... לעולם ועד] מרדכי, ל'.

60 ה' א' א, הגדה, או' (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), <לא>.

61 מתנות] א, או' (ד'), ויטרי (ד'), מתנת.

62 הלואתם] א, <כי אם לידך המלאה הפתוחה הקדושה והרחבה>. הגדה,

<אלא לידך המלאה הרחבה והפתוחה>, או' (ד'), <אלא לידך הקדושה והמלאה והרחבה>.

63 ולא נבוש] א, שלא נבוש ולא נכלם. הגדה, ולא נכלם.

64 ותבנה] א, או' (ד'), ובנה.

65 עיר הקדש] מרדכי, עירך. או' (כ"י), עיר קדשך.

66 מנחם ... ירושלם] מרדכי, או' (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד'), בונה ירושלם. א, הגדה,

ויטרי (כ"י), בונה ברחמינו ירושלם.

והשב ישראל לנוהו
ומלכותך⁶⁷ ומלכות בית
דוד משיחך תחזירנה
למקומה כי לך ה' א'
מיחלות עינינו ולישועתך
קוינו ואף על פי
שאכלנו ושתינו חרבן
ביתך הגדול⁶⁸ והקדוש
ושאר⁶⁹ פיזור גליונותנו
לא שכחנו ואלס⁷⁰ נא
תשכחנו גם⁷¹ אתה לנצח
כאמור⁷² אם אשכחך
ירושלם תשכח ימיני
תדבק לשוני לחכי אם
לא אזכרכי אם לא
אעלה את ירושלם על
ראש שמחתי ונאמר⁷³
בונה ירושלם ה' נדחי
ישראל יכנס. ברוך
אתה ה' בונה עיר⁷⁴ עיר
ירושלם, אמן. בחיינו
ובמהרה⁷⁵ בימינו⁷⁶
תבנה⁷⁷ עיר ציון⁷⁸
וישוכלל⁷⁹ אפריון.

⁶⁷ ומלכותך] כפא, ל'.

⁶⁸ הגדול והקדוש] טורין, רומניא (כ'י), ל'.

⁶⁹ ושאר פיזור גליונותנו] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י, ל'.

⁷⁰ ואל נא] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י, אל. רומי (ב), ואל. רומניא (כ'י), נא אל.

⁷¹ גם אתה לנצח] רומי (רומי (ב), <לנצח>] ואל תעובנו לאורך ימינו. קלא 'א', וק'י) ואל תעובנו לאורך ימים. רומניא (כ'י) נא אל תעובנו נא אל תפר בריך אתנו. טורין, ה' אלקינו ואל תעובנו מלכינו ואל תטשנו נואלנו ואל תכלימונו בבקשתנו ואל תתנו בנפש אויבנו ואל תפר בריך אתנו ויבא אליהו הנ' ומשיח בן דוד במהרה בימינו. ⁷² כאמור... שמחתין טורין, ובנה ירושלם עירך במהרה בימינו. רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י) ובנה את ירושלם עיר הקדש (רומי (א) קדשך] במהרה בימינו.

⁷³ ונאמר... יכנס] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י, טורין, ל'. רומניא (כ'י), ותבנה ירושלם עיר הקדש במהרה בימינו.

⁷⁴ עיר עיר] רומניא (כ'י), ברחמי עירו, רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י) ברחמי בנין. טורין, ל'.

⁷⁵ ובמהרה] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י, במהרה.

⁷⁶ בימינו] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י) <ויבא נואל ויגאלנו>.

⁷⁷ תבנה] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י) ותבנה.

⁷⁸ עיר ציון] טורין, ציון. רומניא (כ'י) עירנו.

⁷⁹ וישוכלל אפריון] רומי, קלא 'א' וק'י, טורין, ותכון העבודה בירושלם. רומניא (כ'י) ותכון היכלנו ויבא נואלנו מהרה ויגאלנו.

נוסח פרס

רחמנו רחם ה' א' עלינו ועל
 ישראל עמך ועל ירושלם עירך ועל
 ציון משכן כבודך על היכלך ועל
 מקדשך ועל מעונך ועל הבית הגדול
 והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו ומלכות
 בית דוד משיחך מהרה תחזירה
 למקומה בימינו ובנה את ירושלם
 בקרוב והעלינו לתוכה ושמחינו
 בבנינה כי מקדם וצ"ל כמקדם]
 סלה, בא"י הבונה ברחמיו את עיר
 ירושלם. ואמרו אמן.

נוסח ספרד (ב)

רחם ה' א' עלינו ועל ישראל עמך
 ועל ירושלם עירך ועל הר ציון משכן
 כבודך ועל הבית הגדול והקדוש
 שנקרא שמך עליו אבינו רענו זוננו
 פרנסנו כלכלנו הרויחנו הרוח לנו
 מהרה מכל צרותינו ואל תצריכנו
 ה' א' לידי מתנות בשר ודם ולא לידי
 הלואתם שמתנתם מעוטה וחרפתם
 מרובה אלא לידך המלאה והרחבה
 העשירה והפתוחה שלא נבוש בעולם
 הזה ולא נכלם לעולם הבא ומלכות
 בית דוד משיחך תחזירנה למקומה
 במהרה בימינו ברוך אתה ה' בונה
 ברחמיו בנין ירושלם, אמן. בחיינו
 ובחיי כל קהל בית ישראל תבנה
 עיר ציון ברנה ותכון עבודת הקדש
 בירושלם וארמון על משפטו ישב
 בקרוב כבראשונה.

IV

ברכת הטוב והמטיב

נוסח א' מן הגניזה
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם אבינו¹ מלכנו
הטוב והמטיב אשר² בכל
יום ויום הוא מטיב עמנו
הוא גמלנו הוא³ גמלנו
וגמלנו ?] הוא גמלנו
לעד חן וחסד ורוח
ורחמים וכל טוב.]

הנוסח המקורי
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם הטוב והמטיב.

רמבם
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם האל אבינו
מלכנו אדירנו בוראנו⁴
קדושנו קדוש יעקב⁵
המלך (הרחמן)⁶ הטוב
והמטיב (אשר) בכל⁷
יום ויום (הוא)⁸ מטיב
עמנו (הוא)⁹ גמלנו¹⁰
חן וחסד ורחמים¹¹ וכל
טוב.

סדר רב סעדיה גאון
בא' אמ"ה האל¹ אבינו
מלכנו בוראנו² גואלנו
המלך הטוב והמטיב
אשר בכל יום ויום הוא
מרב³ה להיטיב עמנו
והוא⁴ גמלנו לעד חן
וחסד ורוח⁵ ורחמים
וכל טוב.

סדר רב עמרם
ברוך אתה ה' א' מלך
העולם אבינו מלכנו
גואלינו אדירנו יוצרנו
אדון נשמתנו קדושנו
קדוש יעקב המלך הטוב
והמטיב שבכל יום ויום
הוא מטיב עמנו והוא
גמלנו] הוא גמלנו הוא
גמלנו לעד חן וחסד
ורחמים וכל טוב.

VARIANTS IV

- a אבינו גני'ה מ, האל אבינו.
1 מלכנו] גני'ה א, <גואלינו יוצרנו קדושנו קדוש יעקב המלך>. גני'ה מ, אדירנו
קדושנו קדוש יעקב רועה ישראל המלך הרחמן.
2 אשר ... יום] גני'ה א, גני'ה מ, שבכל יום.
3 הוא גמלנו וכו'] גני'ה א, הוא [עתידי] לגמלנו ... (2).
3a ורוח] גני'ה מ, רוח.
4 האל] רס"ג (ב), ל'.
5 בוראנו גואלנו] רס"ג (ב), יוצרנו קדושנו קדוש יעקב.
6 מרב³ה להיטיב] רס"ג (ב), מטיב.
7 והוא] רס"ג (ב), הוא.
8 ורוח] רס"ג (ב), רוח.
9 בוראנו] רמבם (ד'), <גואלנו>. תימן (כ"י), <גואלנו גמלנו טוב>.
10 יעקב] תימן (כ"י), <רוענו ורועי ישראל עמו האל>.
11 הרחמן] רמבם (ד'), תימן (ד' וכ"י), ל'.
12 (אשר) בכל] רמבם (ד'), תימן, שבכל. תימן (כ"י), אשר בכל.
13 הוא מטיב עמנו] רמבם (ד'), תימן, ל'. תימן (כ"י), הוא היטיב לנו הוא מטיב
לנו הוא ייטיב לנו.
14 הוא] רמבם (ד'), ל'.
15 הוא גמלנו] תימן (כ"י), הוא גמלנו הוא גמלנו הוא גמלנו לעד לנצח.
16 ורחמים] תימן (כ"י), <ופרנסה וכלכלה>.

נוסח ספרד (א)	נוסח רומניא	נוסח ארץ האי (עץ חיים)
בא"י אמ"ה לעד ¹⁷	בא"י אמ"ה ²⁰ תחברך ²¹	בא"י אמ"ה ³¹ האל ³²
האל ²⁸ אבינו מלכנו	האל לעד ²² אבינו	אבינו מלכנו אדירנו ³³
אדירנו בוראנו גואלנו ¹⁹	מלכנו מחסנו ²³ אדירנו ²⁴	גואלינו ³⁴ קדושנו קדוש
קדושנו קדוש יעקב	בוראנו ²⁵ גואלנו ²⁶	יעקב רועינו רועה
רוענו רועה ישראל	קדושנו קדוש יעקב ²⁷	ישראל האל ³⁵ המלך ³⁶
המלך הטוב והמטיב	המלך ²⁸ הטוב והמטיב ²⁹	החיי ³⁷ הטוב והמטיב ³⁸
לכל שבכל יום ויום	שבכל יום ויום ³⁰ הוא	שבכל יום ³⁹ הוא ⁴⁰

17 לעד] ספרד (כ"י), ל'.

18 האל] אבודרהם, ל'.

19 גואלנו] ספרד (כ"י), ל'.

20 אמ"ה] רומי, קלא 'א' וק' <אלהי אברהם>.

21 תחברך] רומניא (כ"י), טורין, ל'. רומי, קלא 'א' וק' יחברך.

22 האל לעד] רומי, קלא 'א' וק' לעד האל. טורין, האל.

23 מחסנו] טורין, ל'.

24 אדירנו] רומניא (כ"י), קלא 'א' וק', ל'.

25 בוראנו] טורין, ל'.

26 גואלנו] רומי, קלא 'א' וק', טורין, רומניא (כ"י), <יוצרנו>.

27 יעקב] רומניא (כ"י), רוענו רועה נאמן. טורין, רוענו רועה. ישראל. רומי (ב),

שדל, קלא 'א' וק', רוענו רועה ישראל רועה נאמן. רומי (א), רוענו רועה נאמן רועה ישראל.

28 המלך] קלא (א), האל המלך. רומניא כ"י, טורין, המלך החי.

29 והמטיב] טורין, קלא וק', <לכל>. רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (א), <לכל אל>.

30 ויום] רומי, קלא 'א' וק', <עמנו>.

31 אמ"ה] מרדכי, <הטוב והמטיב>.

32 האל] מרדכי, הגדה, ל'.

33 אדירנו] מרדכי, ל'. א, הגדה [נושם נמחק] רש"י [ברכות מ"ט ע"א ד"ה שתי מלכיות]

<בוראנו>.

34 גואלנו] א, הגדה, או"ז (ד' וכ"י), <יוצרנו>

35 האל] א, הגדה, ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), או"ז (ד' וכ"י), רש"י [שם], ל'.

36 האל המלך ... והמטיב] מרדכי, ל'.

37 החי] או"ז (ד' וכ"י), הגדה, ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), א, רש"י [שם], ל'.

38 והמטיב] א, ויטרי (ד' וכ"י) [נעל הגליון], הגדה, רש"י [שם], <לכל>.

39 שבכל יום] מרדכי, א, או"ז (ד' וכ"י), ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), שבכל יום ויום. הגדה, אל

שבכל יום ויום.

40 הוא מטיב ... ייטיב לנו] מרדכי, טוב ומטיב עמנו. הגדה, הוא מטיב עמנו

והטיב לנו. ויטרי (ד'), הוא מטיב עמנו. ויטרי (כ"י) הוא מטיב עמנו והוא הטיב והוא

'ייטיב עמנו. א, הוא הטיב הוא מטיב הוא ייטיב לנו. או"ז (ד') מטיב עמנו. או"ז (כ"י)

מטיב עמנו, והוא ייטיב לנו.

הוא מטיב לנו⁴¹ הוא⁴² מטיב עמנו⁴⁶ הוא⁴⁷ מטיב לנו הוא היטיב
 הטיב לנו⁴³ הוא ייטיב ייטיב אחריתנו⁴⁸ הוא לנו הוא ייטיב לנו הוא⁵⁹
 לנו⁴⁴ הוא גומלנו הוא גמלנו גומלנו הוא גמלנו לנו הוא
 גמלנו הוא יגמלנו לעד הוא⁵¹ עתיד לגמלנו לעדי⁵² עד חיים⁵³ חן⁵⁴
 חן וחסד ורחמים וריוח וריוח⁴⁵ והצלה וכל ורחמים⁵⁶ ובכל⁵⁷ טוב
 טוב. נחברך⁵⁸ באלהי אמן. נשבע באלהי אמן.

- 41 לנו] ספרד (כ"י), עמנו.
 42 הוא היטיב ... ייטיב לנו] וז"ל אבודרהם, ואמ' במדבר שצריך לומר ג' הטבות
 הטוב והמטיב הוא מטיב לנו והראש היה אומר הוא מטיב לנו הוא המטיב לנו הוא ייטיב לנו
 כמו שאומר גמולות הוא גומלנו הוא גמלנו הוא יגמלנו כנגד הווה ועבר ועתיד.
 43 לנו] ספרד (כ"י), עמנו.
 44 לנו] ספרד (כ"י), עמנו.
 45 וריוח והצלה] אבודרהם, ספרד (כ"י), ל'.
 46 הוא מטיב עמנו] רומניא (כ"י) <הוא הטיב לנו>. שדל, קלא (א' וק'), הוא
 הטיב לנו הוא מטיב עמנו. רומי, (א), הוא מטיב לנו הוא ייטיב לנו. רומי (ב) עמנו
 הוא מטיב לנו הוא ייטיב עמנו.
 47 הוא ייטיב אחריתנו] רומניא כ"י, רומי (א' ב'), ל'.
 48 אחריתנו] רומי, קלא (א' וק'), עמנו.
 49 גמלנו] כפא, רומניא (כ"י), רומי, קלא (ק), <הוא גומלנו>.
 50 הוא ... לגמלנו] טורין, הוא עתיד לגמלנו והוא יגמלנו. רומניא (כ"י) הוא יגמלנו.
 רומי (ב), הוא גומלנו הוא יגמלנו ברחמיו לעד.
 51 הוא עתיד לגמלנו] כפא, רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ל'.
 52 לעדי עד] טורין, לעד. רומי, קלא (א' וק') ברחמיו לעד. רומניא (כ"י), כל
 טוב לעדי עד ולנצח נצחים.
 53 חיים] רומי, טורין, קלא (א' וק'), ל'.
 54 חיים ... ובכל טוב] רומניא (כ"י), ל'.
 54a וחסד] רומי (ב), ל'.
 55 וריוח] רומי, קלא (א' וק'), ל'.
 56 ורחמים] טורין, <וברכה והצלה>. רומי, קלא (א' וק') <ברכה (רומי) (ב) (?)
 <רפואה>] רוחה והצלה וחיים ושלוש.
 57 ובכל טוב] טורין, וכל טוב. רומי, קלא (א' וק'), וכל טוב ומכל טוב.
 58 נחברך ... נשבע בא' אמן] רומי (א), אל יחסרנו הרחמן. שדל, אל יחסרנו לעולם.
 קלא (א' וק') רומי (ב), אל יחסרנו אבינו אב הרחמן. טורין, ל'. רומניא (כ"י), <גושע
 באלהי אמן>.
 59 הוא ... לעד] או"ז (ד'), ל'. הגדה, ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), או"ז (כ"י), הוא גמלנו הוא
 גומלנו הוא [הגדה, והוא] יגמול בעדינו. א, הוא גמלנו הוא גומלנו הוא יגמלנו לעד.
 60 לריוח ... טוב] מרדכי, ל'. הגדה, לחן לחסד לרחמים ולרוח והצלה והצלה
 וברכה וישועה ונחמה פרנסה וכלכלה ורחמים וחיים ושלוש וכל טוב. או"ז (ד' וכ"י),
 לחן לחסד ריוח ורחמים הצלה וברכה וישועה ונחמה וכל טוב. ויטרי (ד' וכ"י), לחן
 לחסד [כ"י <לרחמים>] לריוח והצלה והצלה וברכה [כ"י <ורחמים>] וחיים ושלוש
 וכל טוב. א, לחן לחסד ולרחמים ולרוח הצלה והצלה וברכה וישועה נחמה פרנסה
 וכלכלה ורחמים וחיים ושלוש וכל טוב ומכל טוב אל יחסרנו.

נוסח פרס

נוסח ספרד (ב)

בא"י אמ"ה יחברך האל לעד
 אבינו מלכנו מחסנו אדירנו אבירנו
 יוצרנו גמלנו קדושו קדוש יעקב
 ורוענו רועה ישראל האל המלך
 החי הטוב והמטיב אשר בכל יום
 מרבה להטיב עמנו הוא גמלנו הוא
 גומלנו הוא עתיד יגמלנו [!] לעד
 לחן לחסד ולרחמים המלך [!]
 הסלחה [צ"ל הצלחה] כל טוב.

בא"י אמ"ה לעד האל אבינו מלכנו
 אדירנו בוראנו גואלנו קדושו קדוש
 יעקב רוענו רועה ישראל המלך
 הטוב והמטיב לכל שבכל יום ויום
 הוא היטיב לנו הוא מטיב לנו הוא
 ייטיב לנו הוא גמלנו הוא גומלנו הוא
 יגמלנו לעד חן וחסד ורחמים ורוח
 והצלחה וכל טוב.

ASMAKTA OR INTENTION

A STUDY IN TANNAITIC JURISPRUDENCE

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THERE are different ways of studying law: The theoretical way, and the critico-historical way. By theoretical way, I mean the study of the laws as they are, without investigation of the underlying reasons for their origin; while the critico-historical way means study of the laws and social forces which brought about these laws, as well as their development in different aspects and stages.

The Jewish Law (Halakah) has never been studied in the critico-historical way. The few works which we have on the Halakah belong to the theoretical class. None of the scholars laid due stress on the development of the Halakah; they did not even differentiate between the Tannaitic Halakah (which came into existence in a period when the Jew lived his own life and had his own jurisdiction) and the Amoraic Halakah (which developed under different circumstances in Babylon).

It is true that for a Rabbi as well as for a Magistrate, in giving out decisions, it is not necessary to go into the origin of the laws or how they came about. The decree of an authoritative jurist, Rabbi or Court is sufficient in deciding a case. But that is not the case with a scholar, or with a Rabbi or jurist who wants to amend the law. A scholar, in studying the law, must know its entire development, when it originated, and the underlying reasons for its origin.

In a previous article I pointed out the importance of the study of the development of the Halakah. I tried to show

that many Halakahs which we have in the Talmud and which are ascribed to the Tannaim, had not yet been known at the Tannaitic period, as the laws of מוקצה מחמת מיאוס.¹ Likewise, it was observed that many Rabbis, not knowing the origin of different Halakahs, found difficulty in reconciling seemingly contradictory statements of the Tannaim; but if we know the underlying reasons for the different statements of the Tannaim, we find no contradiction.² To give one example out of many: in one Mishnah we read, "When a first-born (cattle) falls into a pit (on a holiday), R. Judah says, let an expert go down and see whether it has a blemish. In that case he may bring it up and slaughter it (on the holiday), otherwise not. R. Simon says, even if its blemish was recognizable on the eve of the holiday, but no sage had permitted its use (by a non-priest), they may not slaughter it on the holiday, because it is not considered 'prepared.'"³ On the other hand we find in another Mishnah: "One may feed a carcass to the dogs (on a holy day). Judah says, If (the cattle) was not carcass on the eve of the holy day, it is forbidden, because it is not 'prepared.'"⁴ The compilers of the Palestinian Talmud find a contradiction between the first of R. Judah's statements that if a first-born (cattle) falls into a pit on a holiday, let an expert

¹ "Studies in Tannaitic jurisprudence," *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1919.

² Comp. *ibid.*

³ בכור שנפל לבור ר' יהודה אומר ירד מומחה ויראה אם יש בו מום יעלה וישחט ואם Bezah, לאו לא ישחט ר' שמעון אומר כל שאין מומו ניכר מבעוד יום אין זה מן המוכן III, 4.

An animal may be slaughtered on a holiday, as that is called צרך נפש. Therefore, if an animal fell into a pit on a holiday, it may be brought up, as it may be slaughtered. A first-born may not be used by an Israelite unless he acquire a blemish, which should be ascertained by an expert.

⁴ מחתכין את הדילועין לפני הבהמה ואת הנבלה לפני הכלבים רבי יהודה אומר אם Shab. XXIV. 4. לא היתה נבלה מערב שבת אסורה לפי שאינה מן המוכן

go down and see whether it has a blemish, and he may slaughter it on a holiday because it is "prepared," while in the second statement he says it is not "prepared."

The compilers of the Palestinian Talmud found that R. Judah's statements are at variance with each other⁵; but when we know the origin of R. Judah's statements we find no contradiction. According to the old Jewish law, no food might be used on a holiday unless it had been prepared on the preceding day. The Shammaiites were of the opinion that everything that was prepared on the eve of a Sabbath or holiday might be used on a Sabbath or holiday, even if prepared by nature without the knowledge of the person. So, if the first-born (cattle) fell into the pit, according to Judah, an expert should go down and see if it has a blemish; and it is lawful to bring it up and slaughter it, since the first-born had the blemish before the holiday. Hence, in R. Judah's point of view, it was actually "prepared" on the eve of the holiday. But in the other Mishnah, in the case of the carcass, if the animal was still alive on the eve of the holiday, it could by no means be considered "prepared."⁶

Asmakta is only another instance of the importance of the study of the development of the Halakah. The subject of *Asmakta* is one of the most difficult in the Talmud⁷. I refer to the Amoraic discussions, which are known to every student of the Talmud. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the subject here, concerned as we are with the Tannaitic, and not the Amoraic jurisprudence.

מחלפה שיטתיה דרבי יודה דתנין תמן רבי יהודה אומר אם לא היתה נבלה מערב⁵
Jer. Bezah 62a. שבה אסורה לפי שאינה מן המוכן והכא הוא אמר הכין

⁶ Comp. more about intention, S. Zeitlin, *ibid.*

⁷ Comp. Rashi, B. Mezia 48b. Maimonides, Mekirah, XI, comp. also M. S. Zuckerman, *Tosefta Mishna und Boraita*, vol. 2, pp. 294-324.

אסמכתא. חסרין גזירה הדעה—נקרא, 1, p. 67, יסודי המשפט העברי, As Gulak.
111a, מפתח התלמוד, M. Guttman; לפעמים בשם אסמכתא

According to the Amoraim, the Tannaim differed in their point of view regarding the validity of Asmakta. R. Jose says *Asmakta is valid*: אַסמכְתָּא קניא, that is to say, if A, to strengthen his transaction with B, pledged his property or money if he should not fulfil the conditions of the transaction, has the right to claim the pledge, as Asmakta, a pledge to support a previous deal (Asmakta from the word סמך to support), is valid. R. Judah was of the opinion that Asmakta, a pledge to support a previous deal, is not valid: אַסמכְתָּא לֹא קניא, for when A made the pledge to B, he expected to fulfil the conditions of the transaction and not to have to forfeit his property.⁸

The Amoraim based this Asmakta controversy, between R. Jose and R. Judah, on a baraita and a mishnah.

I. The baraita reads as follows: "If one (the buyer) gives a deposit and says, If I retract I shall forfeit my deposit; and the seller says: If I retract I shall return double the amount of your deposit; R. Jose says the conditions hold good; R. Judah, on the other hand, says that if the seller retract, the buyer may purchase according to his deposit."⁹

According to the Amoraim of the Talmud, the controversy between Jose and Judah in this baraita was on the validity of Asmakta. R. Jose was of the opinion that if a buyer, to show his good faith in the deal, promises the seller that if he should retract, he would forfeit his deposit, and the seller, to show his good faith in the deal, also makes a pledge that if he should retract, he would double the amount of the deposit; if either one retract, the pledge would hold good, as Asmakta (a pledge to support a previous deal) is valid. R. Judah says that if the buyer retract he should

⁸ B. Batra, 168a, and passim. Comp. also Maimonides, Mekirah, XI, about his opinion of Asmakta.

⁹ הגותן עורבון לחבירו ואמר לו אם אני חוזר בי ערבני מחול לך והלא אומר אם אני חוזר בי אכפול לך ערבנך נחיימו התנאים דברי ר' יוסי—רבי יהודה אומר דיו שיקנה חוזר בי אכפול לך ערבנך. B. M. 48b and 77b.

have his deposit returned, while if the seller retract, the buyer may purchase according to the amount of his deposit. In either case there would be no forfeit, as Asmakta (a pledge to support a previous deal) is not valid.

II. The Mishnah reads as follows: "A paid a fraction of his debt on a note to B and told him to deposit the note with C, adding, If I do not pay the note by a certain date, return the note to the creditor to collect the amount of the note in full. On the due date A did not pay the note. R. Jose says, C should return the note to B in order that he may collect the full amount; R. Judah is of the opinion that the note should not be returned to B." (The note, according to R. Judah, should be turned over to the Court, and B may collect only the amount which was not paid on the note).¹⁰

In the opinion of the Amoraim, the controversy between Jose and Judah, in this Mishnah, was also on the validity of Asmakta. R. Jose says that if A owes money to B on a note and pays him a fraction of the debt, the balance to be paid at a certain time; and to prove his good faith, suggests that the note should be deposited with C, and, should he fail to pay the balance on due date, the note should be returned to B for collection in full—if he fails, his pledge holds good, as Asmakta (a promise to support a previous transaction) is valid, אַסְמַכְתָּא קַיָּא. R. Judah is of the opinion that the debtor may collect only the balance due him, and not the full amount of the note, as Asmakta (a promise to support a previous transaction) is not valid, אַסְמַכְתָּא לֹא קַיָּא.

Owing to many passages in the Tannaitic literature, which seemingly contradict Jose's or Judah's opinion on Asmakta,

מי שפרע מקצת חובו והשליש את שטרו ואמר לו אם לא נתתי לך מכאן ועד יום י"ו פלוני חן לו שטרו הניע זמן ולא נתן רבי יוסי אומר יתן רבי יהודה אומר לא יתן.
B. B. X, 5.

we find in the Amoraic literature two conflicting statements about the validity of Asmakta. One statement says, *Asmakta is valid*, והלכת' אסמכתא קניא, Ned. 27b, while the other statement says, *Asmakta is not valid*, אסמכתא לא קניא, B. M. 66b. The later Amoraim and the Rabbis of the Middle Ages, who were eager to reconcile the two contradictory statements, brought in different conceptions of Asmakta, some of which were valid and others not valid. With these they made the subject of Asmakta the most difficult one in the Talmud as well as in the Rabbinic literature of the Middle Ages (Comp. Rashi, Tosafot, Rambam).

The word Asmakta is not only not mentioned in Judah's and Jose's statements, but is not found throughout the Tannaitic literature. All the Talmudic scholars who dealt with the subject of Asmakta never questioned whether the controversy between Judah and Jose was really on the point of Asmakta.

I venture to say that the principle Asmakta as given in the Talmud, and in the later Rabbinic literature, was not known to the Tannaim; and the controversy between the two Tannaim in the aforestated Mishnahs and Baraita is on the principle of *intention*.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that one of the four principles which were the basis of almost all the disputes between the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel was one of intention.¹¹

According to the school of Hillel intention as a factor in law, was not only recognized but insisted upon; that we must take into consideration not only a man's primary act, but also a person's intention. The school of Shammai on the other hand recognized only the act as a factor in law, and did not take cognizance of the intention. This difference

¹¹ See S. Zeitlin, "The Semikah Controversy Between the Zugoth," *J.Q.R.*, 1917. pp. 515-17.

in view affected all departments of Jewish law—ritual, civil, and criminal. To illustrate a few of the many Halakahs in relation to intention: I. The Bible forbids all manner of work, מלאכה, on the Sabbath; the school of Hillel who maintain that intention is the main factor, are of the opinion that if a man had intention with regard to an act which would constitute a מלאכה but this act did not result in all particulars according to his intention, he is not regarded as having transgressed the laws of Sabbath. According to the school of Shammai, however, the man would be regarded as having transgressed the laws of Sabbath. For example, if a person intended to pick figs and picked grapes instead, or if he intended to pick grapes and picked figs, R. Eliezer says that he must bring a sin-offering; R. Joshua absolves him.¹² R. Eliezer belonged to the school of Shammai, while R. Joshua was a Hillelite. 2. According to the law of the Torah, food for Sabbath must be prepared the day before. The school of Shammai, who regard intention as not essential, were of the opinion that anything prepared even without the intention of using the same on a Sabbath or holiday, is allowed to be eaten thereon. The school of Hillel, however, who require in every act the intention of the person, maintain that anything prepared without the intention or knowledge of man for use on the Sabbath and holiday, is not allowed to be eaten thereon. And that is the controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai in regard to an egg laid on a holiday, which naturally is prepared the day before. The school of Shammai say that it may be eaten on the holiday; the school of Hillel forbid it to be eaten on a holiday—although the egg was prepared

¹² מחבין ללקט האנים וליקט ענבים וליקט האנים—רבי אליעזר מחייב חטאת
ורבי יהושע פוטר. Krit. b. Tosef. *ibid.*, II.

on the eve, it was without intention of the man to use it on the holiday.¹³

Some of the school of Hillel even went so far as to say that even if a person intended to kill A, and killed B, he is not guilty of manslaughter, as his intention was not fulfilled.¹⁴ Or, if a man threw a stone against a person's knees, who thus hit would not have been killed, but the stone hit the heart and cause death, he is not guilty of murder.¹⁵

The principle of intention was brought into play in the laws of possession. If A holds a property without his intention to make it his own, he does not obtain ownership of this property, it must be an *animus* possession, which means the intention of the possessor to hold the thing possessed as his own.¹⁶

To possess a thing which is not *res nullius*, does not make the possessor the owner of the property, and as long as the previous owner did not transfer or relinquish his ownership the second one cannot become the owner.¹⁷ (The laws of possession, which require three years, assume that the previous owner had relinquished his ownership). The actual transfer of property from A to B must be by free will and must be intended, as proved by note or witness. In a case where A intends to transfer his title to B, under certain conditions to be fulfilled in the future, the school of

¹³ ביצה שנולדה ביום טוב בית שמאי אומרים תאכל ובית הלל אומרים לא תאכל
Bezah I, 1.

In the Tosefta this controversy is recorded under the name of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. See tosefta, *ibid*.

¹⁴ ר' שמעון אומר אפי' נתכון להרוג את זה והרג את זה פטור
Sanh. IX, 2.

¹⁵ See *ibid*.

¹⁶ כל חוקה שאין עמה טענה אינה חוקה כיצד אמר לו מה אתה עושה בחוך שלי
B. B. III, 3.
והוא אמר שלא אמר לי אדם דבר מעולם אינה חוקה

¹⁷ One may have possession—as in the case of theft—without being the owner, "Furtivae quoque res, et que vi possessae sunt, nec si praedicto longo tempore bona fide possessae fuerint, usucapi possunt."
The Institutes of Justinian, Lib. II, Tit. VI, 2, see about יאוש, B. K. 66-67.

Hillel, which recognize intention, are of the opinion that if these conditions are fulfilled, B gets the ownership; while the school of Shammai, which recognize only acts, are of the opinion that A still retains the ownership.

Now we can understand the Baraita above quoted, in reference to deposits. "If one gives a deposit and says, 'If I retract I shall forfeit my deposit', and the seller says, 'If I retract I shall return double the amount of your deposit', R. Jose says that the conditions hold good. R. Jose, who was a Hillelite, maintained that as both the seller and the buyer intended, the conditions hold good; R. Judah said that if the seller retracts, the buyer may purchase according to his deposit." R. Judah was a Shammaiite, and held the opinion that intention was not sufficient; therefore as the seller had intended to double the deposit, he is not bound to do so, but only to return the buyer's deposit.¹⁸

A similar point of view may be seen in another Halakah, quoted in the Tosefta. "If A pledges to B a house and says 'If I shall not pay you by a certain date, I have nothing in your hands,' and if the date arrives and A does not pay, the condition holds good," according to R. Jose, while R. Judah says, 'How can a man acquire a thing which is not his?'¹⁹ Here the same principle of intention is involved. The house was pledged but still remained in the possession of A; therefore, R. Jose says, his intention is sufficient, but R. Judah holds that intention does not suffice.

¹⁸ According to Rashi, לא זה מוחל ולא זה כופל; comp. Maimonides—אם חזר בו הלוקח קנה זה הערבון שהרי הוא תחת ידו ואם חזר בו המוכר אין מחייבין אלא נותן לו עירבון שלו—the Tosefta reads: אוהו לכפול הערבון שזו אסמכתא. It seems to me that the reading of the Tosefta is according to the opinion that עירבון נגד כולו הוא קונה—while the reading of the Baraita is according to the opinion כנגדו הוא קונה.

¹⁹ מישכן לו בית ומישכן לו שדה ואמר לו אם לא נתתי לך מיכן ועד יום פלוני אין לי ¹⁹ בידך כלום הגיע הזמן ולא נתן יתקיים תנאו דברי ר' יוסי, אמר רבי יהודה היאך זוכה זה בדבר שאינה שלו אלא ינתחנו (יתנו). Tosefta B. M. I, 17.

It is interesting to note that if A pawned some "movable" to B and said to him, "If I pay you not by a certain date, I have nothing in your hands," and the date came and he did not pay, then the "movable" which he pawned remains in B's hands;²⁰ in this case R. Judah does not hold a different opinion, as the "movable" was actually pawned and in possession of B, and not pledged.

The same principle of intention we may see in the second controversy between R. Jose and R. Judah, which involved, according to the Talmud, the Rabbis of the Middle-Ages, as well as modern scholars, a controversy of *Asmakta*. "If A paid a fraction of his debt on the note to B and told him to deposit the note with C and adding, "If I do not pay the note by a certain date, return the note to the creditor to collect the full amount of the note, and on the due date A did not pay on the note, R. Jose holds that C should return the note to B that he may collect the full amount." According to Rabbi Jose, A intended to pay the full amount of the note, if he should fail to pay on time; therefore B has the right to collect the full amount. "R. Judah is of the opinion that the note should not be returned to B." R. Judah, who does not recognize intention, maintains that B is entitled to the money said A owes him, but not to the full amount of the note.²¹

Now I have proved that the two controversies between R. Jose and R. Judah were not on the question of *Asmakta*, as the Talmudists and the scholars who followed

הפלוה את חבירו על המשכון ואמר לו אם לא נחתי לך מכאן ועד יום פלוני אין ²⁰ Tosefta, *ibid.* 19. לי בידך כלום והניע הזמן ולא נתן היגיע משכון בין רע ובין יפה מי שפרע מקצת חובו והשליש את שטרו ואמר לו אם לא נחתי לך מכאן ועד יום ²¹ B. B. פלוני תן לו שטרו הניע זמן ולא נתן רבי יוסי אומר יתן רבי יהודה אומר לא יתן שנים שנתעצמו זה בזה ואמר אחד לחבירו, X, 5. Comp. also Tosefta B. M. 1, 16, וכך היגיע זמן ולא נתן יתקיים תנאו אם לא באתי מיכן ועד יום פלוני יהא לך בידי כך וכך היגיע זמן ולא נתן יתקיים תנאו דברי רבי יוסי אמר רבי יהודה היאך זוכה זה בדרבך שלא בא לתוך ידו אלא ינתחנו

the Rabbis maintain, *but on the principle of intention*. That will not only remove many difficulties which we find in the Talmud, but will give us another, and clearer, conception of the Tannaitic jurisprudence and the development of *intention* as a legal principle.

Asmakta is only one instance of many which prove the importance of the study of the history and development of the Halakah. *No scholarly work on the Talmud which is worth its name can be undertaken unless a thorough study of the history and development of the Tannaitic as well as the Amoraic Halakahs is made.* And again, no scientific Talmudic treatises can be written unless we have a critical edition of the Tannaitic literature as well as the Amoraic, based not only on all the MSS. which are in our possession and on different citations in the vast Rabbinic literature, *but stress must be laid on internal evidence.*

DAVID HOFFMANN'S RESPONSES

THE LATE Dr. David Hoffmann was not only a great teacher but also an eminent writer. His motto was *nulla dies sine linea*. After the age of 48, he made it his practice to write down the original comments that occurred to him in his exposition of Halakah or Haggadah.

What he especially prized were his Responses to questions on Jewish Law sent to him by former disciples, Rabbis of Germany, as well as by others. In his advanced years he intended to print these Responses. But with the modesty and diffidence that were distinguishing traits of his character, he would say that he required at least three years to revise them and render them fit for publication. Preoccupation with other literary work deprived him of the necessary leisure. When he passed away, A. E. Kaplan, who succeeded him as teacher of Talmud at the Berlin Seminary, was asked to edit the Responses. He found nothing in them needing correction or qualification. All that he proposed to add were a few supplementary notes. Unfortunately, soon after he had begun his task, Professor Kaplan also passed away. The author's son, Moses J. Hoffmann, has issued some of the Responses, exactly as he found them in the manuscript under the title the author had given them—*Melamed Leho'il*. The instalment makes up a slender octavo volume of 129 pages, "small in quantity but great in quality." The 120 responses it contains discuss topics dealt with in the *Orah Haim*, and have been arranged by the editor according to the order of subjects in that part of the *Shulhan 'Aruk*. Responses 2-7 deal with Public Worship; 8-14 with Reading of the Torah; 15-30 with the Synagogue; 33-72 refer to Sabbath Observance; 73-116 to Passover; 117-119 to New Year and Day of Atonement; 120 deals with the taking of the four plants on the Feast of Tabernacles; 121-122 relate to the Feast of Lights.

The first Response solves a difficulty in a commentary on Maimonides' Code by a correction of the text according to the Venice Edition. With this exception, all the remaining Responses are of a practical character. They do not discuss purely hypothetical cases which would merely exhibit the writer's erudition and acumen, but are replies to actual

*ספר מלמד להועיל כולל שאלות ותשובות על ג' חלקי ש"ע מאת כוה"ר דוד
צבי האפפמאן וצ"ל מחברת הראשונה ש"ח על א"ח.

questions put by Rabbis or laymen on points on which definite decisions were sought. The replies are clear, terse and usually brief, varying from two or three lines to a few pages. Three Responses are exceptions. No. 16, to which we shall refer, takes up eight pages. No. 30, a highly technical discussion on the calculation of nightfalls for the close of Sabbaths, feasts and fasts, takes up ten pages. No. 58, discussing the question whether young Jewish children may carry books to school on Saturdays, covers nine pages. Dr. Hoffmann's Responses, though concise, are not peremptory decisions but reasoned judgments, supported by proofs and arguments and setting forth the pertinent references to an exceedingly wide range of authorities from the Talmud and earliest decisionists to the most recent summaries and expositions of Jewish Law.

Apart from their intrinsic importance, Responses are of interest for the light they cast on the conditions of the times when they were written, the sentiments of those who put questions and the temperament of the Respondent. Dr. Hoffmann is exceedingly rigid where no serious inconvenience would result. But where real hardship would follow from a rigorous construction of the law, he tries to find a way out. This is in accord with the principles that have ever guided the great commentators and decisionists, expressed in the biblical text (Prov. 3: 17) "Its ways are ways of pleasantness," and in the talmudical maxim כחא עדיף דהחירא עדיף. A few examples will serve as illustrations of these trends. No. 2. Can one hold a congregational service with eight adult males instead of the requisite quorum of ten? The correspondent states that in his town it is reported that a former religious head, the great Rabbi David Oppenheim, permitted it. Hoffman in his reply denies the truth of the report, corrects a misunderstanding of a passage in *Soferim* 10.7, which might support the relaxation, and concludes with the sensible remark, "if you can get eight to come to Minyan, you will, with a little additional effort, be able to secure the attendance of two more to make up a quorum." No. 8. In a congregation where there was only one Kohen and no Levite, Hoffmann decided that the Kohen need not be called up to the reading of the law more than once in four weeks. On all other occasions an Israelite may be called up first, and the formula should be added "with the permission of the Kohen." No. 11. Since there is no public mourning on Sabbaths, a reader of the law during his week of mourning may read the Torah in the synagogue on the Sabbath.

The twelfth Response is very human. The correspondent, presumably a newly fledged rabbi fresh from the Seminary, puts a question that is troubling him. His congregation proposes (1) to abolish the silent read-

ing of the Amidah at the public services, on the ground that the Sephardim have done so; (2) to deprive Kohanim of their right to be always called up first to the reading of the Law; (3) to omit the *Dukan* (the solemn recital of the priestly benediction by the Kohanim) in the Musaf, on the ground that the rite has already taken place in the morning service—the practice followed in German congregations. In regard to the first proposed innovation, Dr. Hoffmann suggests that the rabbi should point out to his flock that the silent reading of the Amidah constitutes the private devotions of the worshippers and only takes a few minutes. As to the second proposal, there is no objection to calling up non-Kohanim first to the reading of the Law, provided the courteous formula "with permission of Kohanim present" be added, and provided that a Kohen is called up first at least once a month, so as to preserve the privilege of the Aaronides. With regard to the third proposal, the rabbi is to impress upon his community the importance of the *Dukan*. Should the *Dukan* in Musaf be omitted, those who come late to the synagogue would not witness the rite at all. But in conclusion the genial and practical Dr. Hoffmann earnestly advises his correspondent not to resign even if his persuasions fail of effect, for as Maharam Shiff said, "if the orthodox rabbis will be rigid to the extreme, then laxer colleagues will obtain control of congregations." Hence the rabbi is to keep his post, unless the congregation insists on such innovations as the introduction of an organ in the synagogue, female voices in the choir or the omission from the liturgy of references to a personal Messiah. Innovations less serious, he should resist with all his might. But if he does not succeed, he is not to relinquish his office.

No. 16. Another congregation actually decided to introduce the organ. The religious head of that community states that he would be inclined to permit the innovation provided that the instrument be only used on week days, and then only at weddings, on the king's birthday or similar gala occasions. Would this permission be correct, the correspondent asks, and adds that if he leaves, his successor will most probably allow more radical changes. The Response, covering nine pages, summarizes the entire literature on the subject, gives the various opinions pro and con, and refers to the organ in the old synagogue in Prague, on which melodies were played every Friday afternoon before *Lekah Dodi*. The writer also quotes a hymn, brought to his notice by Jacob Wagner in a Siddur dated 5438, and afterwards also by Dr. Alexander Marx, who found it in a prayer book printed at Amsterdam in the year 5440. The hymn has the superscription *וְכָל שְׁמַנִּים בְּקֶק פְּרָא* וְכָל שְׁמַנִּים בְּקֶק פְּרָא

בבִּיחַ מִיחַל וְלִי בַעֲנוֹב וּבִנְבִלִים קוֹדֵם לֵךְ דּוֹדִי, "A beautiful song by the late Rabbi Solomon Singer, sung in Prague in the Meisel Synagogue to the accompaniment of organ and flutes before *Lekah Dodi*." The decision finally arrived at is in line with decisions given in the early part of the 19th century, namely, that the organ, primarily dedicated to church use, should never be used in Jewish places of worship. Even at weddings and other festivals on week days, other musical instruments are to be employed. Then in his lenient way, Dr. Hoffmann concludes: "A graduate from the Rabbiner Seminar will not have his diploma withdrawn if he is forced to sanction the use of the organ on week days at weddings, etc. But it is his express duty to make public the restrictions on the permission."

Before the Response was issued, it was sent to five prominent rabbis of Germany with a covering note stating that the Rector of the seminary, Dr. Hildesheimer, had approved of its tenor. Four of these rabbis expressed their dissent. Horowitz of Frankfurt would not give any opinion out of deference to Dr. Hildesheimer's view.

Nearly a third of the volume deals with the Sabbath. The pressing problem presented by many correspondents is how to avoid the serious loss that a strict observance of the Sabbath would entail and at the same time keep within the Jewish Law.

No. 33. An investment banker closes his business on Sabbath and festivals. But delay till Monday in the execution of orders that arrive on Saturday is exceedingly risky. The banker proposes to open a branch office managed by a Gentile and under the Gentile's name. The Gentile will execute the orders that come on Saturdays and receive all the commissions and profits. The banker will only draw interest on the capital he invests. Dr. Hoffmann permits this arrangement on condition that the clients are notified to forward to the Gentile's office all orders that would arrive on Saturdays.

In this connection, the reviewer would add that Messrs. Rothschild of London have always had an arrangement with a Gentile bank to pay out on their behalf acceptances that fall due on the Jewish Sabbath. Moreover, advertisements in the press of date of payment of coupons by the Rothschilds have the formula, "Payable any day of the week except Saturdays."

Response 34 exhibits the extreme conscientiousness of the orthodox German Jew. Two brothers inherited a business which their father had owned in partnership with a non-observant Israelite. During the father's lifetime, the business had been kept closed on Sabbaths and fes-

tivals. The partner now insists on opening on those days. The brothers wish to know whether they may stay in the firm, working on week days only, and whether they may leave their capital in the business, as otherwise they cannot make a living. The reply is in the affirmative.

No. 52. Another correspondent has an exceedingly tender conscience. He secures orders which a Jewish firm in London executes. Some of these orders, he discovers from quarterly statements, have been carried out on the Sabbath. May he keep the commission on them? The reply is in the affirmative. For an agent is not responsible for the violation of the Sabbath by his principal, and the time when the orders were executed need not concern him.

Question No. 53 comes from a Russian Jew, who was exiled for several years from his country and has now received permission to rejoin his family. The journey will take a week and possibly he may have to travel on the railroad on the Sabbath. Is this allowed? The correspondent is a scholar and gives reasons and quotes authorities in the affirmative. Dr. Hoffmann concurs.

No. 54 shows Dr. Hoffmann's exceeding loyalty to his government. He will not permit evasion of military service, even though the Jewish soldier will be forced to violate the Sabbath, since such attempts at evasion would bring discredit on the Jewish religion and react unfavorably on the Jewish people. Military service being compulsory, the Jewish soldier's violation of the Sabbath is no sin. Even a volunteer (einjähriger) should not delay enlisting. (Response 56).

The Responses referring to Passover present a pathetic picture of the hardship suffered by the civilian population during the World War. Contrary to the Ashkenazic custom in normal times, but in accord with the rule for times of exceptional distress, Hoffmann permitted dried peas to be used on Passover when other food was hard to obtain, provided the peas were thrown into boiling water. (No. 84).

Kaffee Ersatz, consisting largely of chicory which had been bought by Jews and was found to contain $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of forbidden fat, was permitted to be used. (77). Milk bought of a Gentile might be drunk by an invalid on Passover. But the milk was to be strained for bread crumbs. (83).

These citations must suffice as samples.

All the Responses are worth reading. They are all well reasoned, in harmony with traditions expounded by authorities, and at the same time they take account of the needs of the day. The author ever bears in mind that Judaism is a religion by which we are to live.

When a second edition appears, the following errors and misprints should be corrected:

Page 41....11th line first word אחרות should be ארחות.

Page 64....last line but one in Response 51 נמצא should read נמצה.

Page 71....6th line from end of page לעכאות should read לערכאות.

Page 87....3rd line from end of page ארוות should read ערוות.

Page 105....middle of Response 87 reference to ב' רצ"ב should read יו"ד ס' רצ"ו.

It is hoped that the remainder of Dr. Hoffmann's Responses will soon see the light of publication, to be a *Melamed Leho'il*, "teaching us for our profit."

M. HYAMSON

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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE JUBILEE VOLUME:

IT was natural that the volume dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Hebrew Union College should begin with a history of that institution and no one could be found more competent to deal with this subject than Dr. David Philipson, a graduate of the first class of the College and the historian of the reform movement in Judaism. Dr. Philipson writes his chronicle with loving and affectionate, but often prejudiced, regard, although his prejudice never leads him into misstatements of facts. It was to be expected that the personality of I. M. Wise should loom large in such a presentation, but it is about time that this personality be evaluated in more exact and scientific historical perspective, now that a quarter of a century has passed since his departure and his work can be weighed in the balances of actual results accomplished. Perhaps such an estimate of the "master builder of American Judaism," as he is called by the present writer, apparently unconscious that such "building" implied to many wanton destruction, would be out of place in a jubilee volume in commemoration of the greatest constructive work which he accomplished. The article contains a great deal of information about the origin of the College and, in fact, about American Jewry of that period generally, but is weakened by the frequency of sentimental outbursts and of emotional appeals which are out of place in a scientific volume. Dr. Kohler's article, following immediately upon that of Dr. Philipson, is really an appeal for the study of the New Testament on the part of the students for the Jewish ministry. "We proudly claim Jesus as our own, even if we cannot go as far as Claude Montefiore who wants to raise him to the rank of Israel's great prophets," and he therefore asks for the endowment of a chair in comparative religion.

"What Happened to the Ten Tribes" is the title of a brief article by Dr. William Rosenau. Basing himself upon a number of contract tablets, bearing dates between 650 and 606 B.C.E., Dr. Schiffer in an article in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1907, infers that the Mesopotamian Hebrew traders, whose names appear in these documents, were the de-

¹ *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (1875-1925), Board of Editors, DAVID PHILIPSON, Chairman, H. G. ENELOW, K. KOHLER, JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, JACOB MANN, JULIAN MORGENSTERN, WILLIAM ROSENAU; Cincinnati, 1925. 521 pp., illustrated.

scendants of the original exiles who were permitted by the King of Assyria to live in separate colonies and maintain their old traditions and language. Dr. Rosenau further develops this theory by asserting that those colonies were later merged with the Judean exiles who were taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. He adduces as corroboration to this theory a number of passages from Ezekiel which appear to indicate that Israel and Judah became amalgamated into one body, so that the present Jews are not the descendants of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, as is commonly supposed, but of the whole house of Israel, including also the "lost" Ten Tribes.

The importance of distinguishing the niceties in the use of the tenses in Hebrew is again emphasized here by Dr. M. Bittenwieser, who calls attention to the frequent use made especially in the Psalms of the precativ perfect. He compares this to the prophetic perfect, which is so often used, on the assumption that what the prophet said was regarded as if it were already fulfilled. Similarly it was reasoned that if a wish be expressed as if already fulfilled, there was greater certainty of its fulfilment. Several chapters of the Psalms are quoted in full to indicate how this perfect was used, giving a more satisfactory meaning to the passages. He also calls attention to the use of the perfect in conditional or temporal sentences and thereby gives new meaning to several passages otherwise not adequately rendered in the versions.

The institution of Trial by Ordeal, so common among primitive peoples, finds only one illustration in the Bible, in the case of the prescription regarding the Sotah, the woman suspected of adultery. Dr. Morgenstern quotes copiously from narratives presented by travellers in Arabia of the many forms of trial by ordeal that still persist in the outlying districts of that land as well as in other lands of antiquity and of more modern days. The narratives are exceedingly interesting and form a useful supplement to the many incidents of a similar character brought together by Dr. Frazer in his "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament." Comparing these various forms of trial by ordeal, Dr. Morgenstern comes to certain definite conclusions regarding the nature and the origin of the institution. He is probably right in his assertion that originally this had nothing to do with religion and was purely magical in character, although in primitive times the magical bordered very closely upon the religious. Applying his findings to the institution of the Sotah, the author proceeds to divest the text in Numbers 5 of all its religious elements, thus believing to produce the formula as it existed originally before it was made part of the religious code. In such a text he finds the

magical element predominating, as the practice existed in primitive Israel. It was only later that the institution was invested with religious significance, requiring sacrifices to be brought and connecting the detection of the guilt with God. It was tempting to connect the instance recorded in Ex. 32. 20, where it is said that Moses burned the golden calf and scattered the ashes on the water, from which he made the Israelites drink, with this ancient practice of trial by ordeal. In this our author found support in a Talmudic phrase (Ab. Z. 44a), where these two incidents are connected. In order, however, to show the results of the trial, our author is constrained to consider verses 21-34 as an insertion and make v. 35 follow immediately upon v. 20, thus showing that the result of the ordeal was that the guilty met their death in a plague, after drinking of the water. This is rather far-fetched and does not commend itself.

Our author apparently misunderstood the Mishnah Sotah V. 1, when he says that it "departs from the Biblical legislation and requires both the suspected wife and her paramour to drink of the water." The Mishnah only says that the water that she drinks will affect her paramour as it does her, but says nothing about his drinking of the water.

The perplexing problem presented by the institution of "The Men of the Great Synagogue," to which frequent reference is made in the Talmud, is discussed anew in an interesting article by Dr. Henry Englander. After quoting the opinions of modern scholars regarding this institution, the author comes to the conclusion that the term has no reference to any fixed and well-established body of men, as is generally assumed, but rather designates the whole community of Israel during the Persian period. He endeavors to show the religious superiority of the period to the one preceding it and the one immediately following it, thus justifying people of a later time to look upon it as a great period and to the people who led the community during that period as great men. The term "Great Synagogue" is made to refer to the whole community of Israel living in that period and the "Men" were the leaders and religious guides who were engaged in the rebuilding of the Jewish communal life, under an era of comparative peace and quiet. It is doubtful whether this thesis will meet with the approval of scholars since it is rather uncommon to apply to any one generation in history the term of "great", although often applied to individuals or to constituted bodies. Besides, if by the "Men" of the period we understand the leaders and representatives of the people, it is only a small step to take to assume that these leaders came together at certain intervals for the purpose of deliberating and

instituting laws and regulations for the welfare of the community. This, however, will bring us back to the old tradition about the "Men of the Great Synagogue" which our author is not ready to accept. A suggestion made some years ago by Dr. Ch. Tschernowitz (Rab Zair) in a series of articles contributed to "Hashiloah", in which the "Men of the Great Synagogue" are identified with the "Anshe Ma'amad," comes to mind in this connection, although that also remained unheeded by scholars.

Dr. Samuel S. Cohon contributes the first part of a study on "Palestine in Jewish Theology," covering the period from earliest times to the destruction of the second Temple. The intimate association of Palestine with the God of Israel was not established until after the construction of the Temple. Quoting Budde, "With the dedication of the temple-site in Jerusalem Jahweh had taken final possession of Canaan and removed His residence thither. That was the close of this stage of development; but it was not fully recognized and preached until much later, in the time of Deuteronomy." The prophets, while realizing the universality of God, still connected Him especially with Palestine. The inviolability of Jerusalem became so deeply rooted that when some of the prophets endeavored to tell the people of an approaching doom to them and to their land because of their wickedness they would not be believed and their utterances were looked upon as treason. However, the prophetic conception of God as the God of the world gradually penetrated the consciousness of the people so that the destruction of the Temple in 586 and the exile of the people from Palestine was not the calamity that it might have been, if the association of Palestine with God were as intense then as it had been in earlier days. The exilic prophets, no less than their earlier peers, stressed the idea of Palestine as being the especial care of God, and thus maintained the people's hope for the speedy restoration. During the Pharisaic period a large body of laws was developed which were entirely contingent upon Palestine for their fulfilment. While Jewish religious life was to an extent largely dissociated from the land and from the Temple, as was made necessary by the extensive spread of the diaspora, Palestine and the Temple were the center of the affections of the Jews wherever they were. They all looked upon "the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred Temple of the Most High." Not only did they send their contributions to the Temple, but through their influence, Gentiles of different lands were induced to send sacrifices to Jerusalem. Among those mentioned on p. 202, the author might have added the name of Nero (Git. 56a). Zion became the object of the love of all Jews and the place toward which they turned in prayer. Although

containing nothing novel, the article is stimulating and interesting on account of the mass of material collected and because of the present interest in the subject of Palestine.

A most ingenious and quite plausible interpretation is given by Dr. Jacob Z. Lauterbach to the term Kallah, used to designate an assembly of students in Babylon. The name has been variously interpreted, but no satisfactory origin of the term has as yet been advanced. Dr. Lauterbach argues that since the name is found only in connection with the Babylonian schools, it must have originally designated a school somewhat different in nature from the schools in Palestine, generally known by the name of Yeshibah, or the Aramaic Metibta. The latter was regarded as an authoritative body, almost in the same sense as the Sanhedrin, and it was required that its head should be an ordained scholar, invested with such authority. When Rab and Samuel sought to establish schools in Babylon they encountered the difficulty of finding persons possessing the ordination who might be placed at the head of these schools. In order to obviate this difficulty, they did not take the name Yeshibah, but satisfied themselves with a name which would indicate merely an assembly of students, carrying no authority such as the Yeshibah did. There were such student assemblies also in Palestine, alongside of the Yeshibahs, which were called Kenesiot, which may have been an abbreviation of Kenesiot Lomede ha-Torah, the initial letters of which constitute the word Kallah. Thus it was that the earliest schools in Babylon were known by the name of Kallah and their heads, Reshe Kallah, although later the Babylonian Jews became bolder and used also the name Yeshibah for their schools. The word Kallah is then nothing but the initials of the name originally given to the groups of students who gathered together, under the leadership of a teacher, to study and investigate the law. If this assumption is correct, it would be the first instance in Jewish history, as far as we know, of an institution to be known not by its full name but by the initial letters of its name. The theory is attractive and appears to be borne out by the proof adduced by our author in favor of it.

Dr. Jacob Mann endeavors to fill up the lacuna in the succession of the Gaonate in Sura, from a Genizah fragment which he presents here for the first time. The statement made in the letter of Sherira that after the death of Saadia (942), the Sura academy began to dwindle and that up to his day there was no Gaon in Sura, has been questioned by scholars before. From the manuscript which is here published and from other evidence, Dr. Mann is able to reconstruct a full list of Geonim who

served as the heads of the academy at Sura until its close in 1038. He also presents here an interesting responsum, which he attributes to Sherira, regarding the calculation of the calendar, which became a burning question later on between the Gaon Ebyathar and the Exilarch David. Part of this responsum is quoted in the *Sepher ha-Ibbur*, but Dr. Mann shows that the original was much more complete, although the fragment which he found in the University Library at Strassburg is also defective. Several other interesting fragments of the Cairo Genizah are given here by him, with explanatory notes, which are of considerable interest. His suggestion that "the time has almost arrived to collect them (all Genizah fragments that were published) and publish them anew in a scientific manner" should be heeded by scholars who have made valuable contributions to the subject.

"The Classification of Sciences in Medieval Jewish Philosophy" is discussed by Dr. Harry A. Wolfson. The author traces the manner of the classification of the sciences by the various Jewish philosophers, beginning with Isaac Israeli and proceeding through with the other outstanding thinkers during the middle ages, and endeavors to compare them with regard to the individual sciences which are included by some and omitted by others, as well as to the degree of importance attached to them by the various authors.

In his inimitably delightful style, Israel Abrahams discusses the relation of the marvellous mind of Pico della Mirandola to the Kabbalah and the influence that this interest of Pico had upon the early renaissance period and the reformation. He shows that Pico visited Reuchlin and that the latter, although an older man, regarded the Italian youth as his master and through him became interested in the Kabbalah. It was due to the interest of Pico and later of Reuchlin in the Kabbalah, and through that in Hebrew learning generally, that Hebrew was made a subject of study in the schools of the renaissance, alongside with the classic languages of antiquity. Dr. Abrahams omits to mention the fact that Pico was probably a disciple of Elias del Medigo, when the latter taught at the Padua University.

A most illuminating and highly appreciative analysis of the works of the sixteenth century moralist, Raphael Norzi, is given by Dr. H. G. Enelow. Norzi is known by three small books which are often printed together in one volume. They are "*Seah Solet*," dealing with the qualities of the religious life; "*Marpe la-Nefesh*" dealing with the elementary truths of religion; and "*Orah Hayyim*" devoted to moral conduct. Dr. Enelow properly endeavors to trace the development of the various

religious and ethical ideals in all these three books, rather than give a summary of each one separately, since the books are not clearly and definitely given over to distinct subjects and each subject is treated variously in each of the books. It is not his originality of thought, but rather his high spirituality and deep religious feeling that make his works so important and so popular. Our author shows in many instances the sources from which Norzi has drawn, emphasizing at the same time the permanent elements in his works. A note on the various editions of his works concludes this interesting article.

Jacob R. Marcus has collected some interesting data relating to the fortunes of the Sefardic Jews in the sixteenth century, especially in Portugal and in Morocco. Most of these data are taken from English records of the Elizabethan period and indicate the important part that these Jews played in the councils of the nations during that time. The author reprints here a most interesting document by a Jewish physician to the Moroccan Sultan Abd el Malek, against whom Sebastian, King of Portugal, led an expedition, financed by funds obtained from the New Christians of Portugal.

The development of synagogue music throughout the ages has found a historian in A. Z. Idelsohn, who has collected tunes of Jewish communities of the Orient and of the Occident, classified them and published some of them in several volumes. The Hebrew Union College Library has come into possession of a valuable collection of synagogue music, mostly in manuscript, collected by Edward Birnbaum of Koenigsberg. Most of these date from the eighteenth century, when a movement toward reform in the music of the synagogue swept over all the Jewish communities in eastern Europe. Mr. Idelsohn traces the origin of this movement, which became known as "ars nova" and which was strongly opposed by the Rabbis and many of the conservative leaders of the congregations, although heartily welcomed by the great masses of the people. This he follows up with a list of the Hazzanim represented in the collection and sketches of their lives, gathered laboriously from various sources, and accompanied with facsimile reproductions of some of their musical works. In this article, Mr. Idelsohn is making a distinct and valuable contribution to the history of Jewish music as well as to musical knowledge generally, while his notes and comments are of great interest to the general student of Jewish history.

The title of Rabbi Israel Bettan's article, "Early Reform in Contemporaneous Responsa," might lead one to expect some foreshadowing of the reform movement in the responsa of the period in which reform

had its origin. This, however, is not the burden of Rabbi Bettan's thesis. He endeavors to penetrate the psychology of the orthodox Jew of the early nineteenth century and his attitude toward the law, as reflected in some of the responsa to which the author had access. Of course, this is a purely subjective matter and Rabbi Bettan's analysis is worth only so much as is his opinion. The scattered references which he advances to show the rigidity of the interpretation given to the law by the famous Rabbis of the past century may be duplicated by an array of references to the same authorities, showing their breadth of view and their broad liberality in the application of the law to the conditions of their time. The same Akiba Eger, who is so frequently quoted here as the paragon of rigidity and unreasonableness, has often shown a keen sense of understanding of changed conditions and their effect upon the law, as when he allows the testimony of one who shaves his beard to be admitted in evidence. The prohibition against shaving is, of course, of biblical origin, and any one violating the law would become unfit to act as a witness in legal proceedings. However, the Rabbi said that since the violation of this law has become so widespread in his days, so that one breaks the law without being conscious of committing a sin, his testimony is to be regarded valid. It cannot be gainsaid that the Rabbis have always evinced the greatest veneration for the law and its traditional interpretation and regarded it essential for the preservation of Judaism that the law be adhered to in every detail. There may have been among them some who lacked the courage to interpret the law so as to make it feasible under changed conditions. The greatest among them, however, did not hesitate to introduce changes when these were necessary, being swayed by a broad tolerance and by a wide understanding of the relative merits of the various laws and customs. Rabbi Bettan displays a lack of appreciation of the ideals and motives which moved these men of great learning and of deep piety in their dealing with the law, of which they regarded themselves the custodians, and his article betrays a flippancy which is unworthy of the subject which he treats.

Modern Hebrew literature is mercilessly indicted in the contribution of Dr. Joseph Reider, who issues a warning to present day writers against the negative tendencies that characterize the works of the foremost Hebrew writers of the past few decades. Dr. Reider deplors the lack of originality and of dignity in the productions of modern writers and endeavors to find the reason for the decadence which set in the Hebrew literature of recent times. He detects three negative tendencies in recent belles-lettistic literature, namely: Pessimism,

Mysticism and Eroticism, and while he admits that in many of these works there is a display of genius and of skilful execution, he does not mince words in condemning such tendencies. Many of those who have been following closely the trend of modern Hebrew literature will be inclined to agree with Dr. Reider in his severe denunciation of the unwholesome aspect that it presents and will join with him in the hope that the spirit of S. J. Abramowitz, Feierberg and others of the so-called old school may be restored to the productions of the new generation of Hebrew writers.

"The Social Implications of Prayer" is the title of Rabbi Abraham Cronbach's article and is an attempt to utilize modern sociologic principles and ideals in defining the purpose and value of prayer. Since in prayer, the personality of the deity becomes most real, the author is led into an argument about the existence and nature of God. The need of restating religious truths in the phraseology current in modern thought is apparent and the justification for it may be found in the great models of the medieval Jewish philosophers. From this point of view, Dr. Cronbach's effort is highly commendable. The weakness in this contribution is the lack of a distinct Jewish approach which makes it almost out of place in a collection such as is contained in this volume. The author realizes this and offers an explanation in the first paragraph, by saying that "inasmuch as prayer is the focus of these considerations, the outstanding interest that most Jews have in their Judaism is that which this study will treat." The investigation could just as well fit in a Christian or Mohammedan periodical as it does here. The author, however, manifests a fine spiritual attitude and a wide knowledge of modern thought on the subject, which he uses to good advantage in the presentation of his theme.

The volume concludes with an address delivered by Professor David Neumark when he assumed the chair of Jewish Philosophy in the Hebrew Union College, in 1908. The address, translated from the German by Dr. Neumark's daughter, is a masterly summary of the significance of Jewish philosophy and the manner in which it should be taught. Dr. Neumark properly insists upon the practical aspect of scientific study, although his criticism of the school of teachers who devote their lives to the investigation of what may be regarded by some as unimportant historic quibbles, and to whom he gives the appellation of "atomists of Jewish lore," will be considered by many as unfair. It is not necessary for one to enhance the importance of his own subject at the expense of other subjects, each of which has its place and its function.

With two or three exceptions, the contributors to this volume are either teachers or former students of the Hebrew Union College, the fiftieth anniversary of whose existence the book is intended to commemorate. It reflects credit on the scholarly standards of the College and contains a number of distinct contributions to Jewish scholarship in its various branches.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL

The need for additional media for Jewish scholarly works has been greatly felt for a number of years and it was this that stimulated the late Professor David Neumark to publish *The Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, four numbers of which appeared. The publication was later taken over by the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College, who decided to issue an annual instead of the former quarterly. With characteristic liberality, the Board of editors invited scholars from various lands and of various shades of religious belief to contribute their efforts and the first three volumes include valuable scientific studies in every branch of Jewish learning.

The first volume, almost double in size of each of the other two, is divided into seven sections, including Biblical, Hellenistic, Talmudic, Philosophical, Poetic, Historical and Modern Studies. The biblical division is introduced by a Study of the First Chapter of Genesis, by M. Lambert, who follows in the trodden path of the higher critics. He elaborates on the theory, often advanced, that this chapter consists of at least two versions, one primitive and anthropomorphic, the other more idealistic and scientific. Wherever a phrase or a clause fits in neither version, it is assumed to be the work of a later redactor. In two parallel columns, the author gives the two versions as he conceives

² *Hebrew Union College Annual*. Board of Editors: DAVID PHILIPSON, Chairman; K. KOHLER, JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, JULIAN MORGENSTERN, DAVID NEUMARK, WILLIAM ROSENAU; volume I, Cincinnati, 1924, vi+639 pp.

Volume II, Cincinnati, 1925, 433 pp. Board of Editors: DAVID PHILIPSON, Chairman; H. G. ENELow, K. KOHLER, JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, JACOB MANN, JULIAN MORGENSTERN, WILLIAM ROSENAU.

Volume III, Cincinnati, 1926, 375 pp. Board of Editors: DAVID PHILIPSON, Chairman; H. G. ENELow, JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, JACOB MANN, JULIAN MORGENSTERN, WILLIAM ROSENAU.

them to have appeared before they were merged, adding, changing and correcting without the slightest hesitation.

About ten years ago, Dr. Julian Morgenstern published a paper in this journal in which he brought forth the novel suggestion that the festival of Sukkot was originally celebrated from the third day of Tishri to the tenth of the same month, the last day being regarded as a separate holiday, which was designated as the New Year. Continuing his studies along these lines, he succeeded in working out a theory about the existence of three distinct calendars in ancient Israel, which he elaborates in greater detail in a lengthy contribution to this volume. The supposition that the three calendars differed only in the manner in which the months were known, is discarded by him. While it is true that the early Canaanite calendar had names for the months descriptive of the agricultural seasons in which they fell, as is indicated by the four surviving names in the Bible, and that the second calendar indicates the months by number and the third by the Babylonian names, Dr. Morgenstern believes that the differences in these calendars were much more vital, affecting the observance of the festivals in the various seasons of the year. According to his opinion, the transition from the first calendar to the second took place some time about 586 B.C.E., and from the second to the third calendar at the end of the fourth century. The first, Canaanite Calendar, was a purely solar calendar, while the second was a luni-solar calendar, retaining, however, the old agricultural festivals at about the same time of the year as in the older calendar. It was not until after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah that the dates of the festivals began to be shifted and the New Year day was transferred to the first day of the seventh month and the Sukkot festival to the fifteenth of the month, while the Passover festival was celebrated on the fifteenth of the first month. It was then also that the tenth day of Tishri assumed the importance that was later attached to it, with the complex ritual of sacrifices introduced by the priests. The third calendar, in which the months are known by their Babylonian names, did not come into existence as an accomplished fact until the beginning of the Christian era, and since then has been the official calendar in use among Jews. The presentation of this very novel theory is most striking and the numerous citations which are brought to support every successive step make it appear quite plausible. It will be of interest to note what Biblical scholars will have to say regarding the various details in this study.

Among the other Biblical Studies included here is one by William Popper on "The Sequence of some Prophecies in the First Isaiah," in

which the author reveals to us some hidden beauties of diction and suggests in passing the transference of some lines from their present position so as to enhance their rhetorical value. Dr. E. Täubler discusses "Kharu, Horim, Dedanim," the names of certain tribes inhabiting Canaan in the pre-Israelitish period and quotes copiously from Egyptian inscriptions to establish their identity. Dr. Harry Torczyner, in his article "The Riddle in the Bible," discusses the various uses made by biblical writers of the riddle, including a very ingenious interpretation of the nineteenth Psalm, which is regarded by him as a remnant of an ancient riddle. The place of the Book of Ruth in the Bible forms the subject of a study by L. B. Wolfenson, who endeavors to assert that the term "canon," as understood by Jews, applied only to laws and regulations such as are included in the Pentateuch, although there is a secondary sense to the term, that of a collection of books conforming to a certain standard. The last article in this division is that of Samuel Krauss, dealing with the "Service Tree in the Bible and Talmud and in Modern Palestine." After discussing the meaning of the term Mesha in Gen. 10. 30, which has puzzled all commentators, the author arrives at the conclusion that Mesha was a service tree, after which the country was named and later the people inhabiting the country. He digresses often to explain the meaning of other words and names, even private names, where he is able to display his extensive knowledge of Talmudic archeology, a branch in which he is now the recognized master. Admitting that the venerable Immanuel Loew, the authority on the botany of the Talmud, has not approved of his conclusions, he still dedicates this study to Loew in honor of his seventieth birthday anniversary.

The section devoted to Hellenistic Studies is initiated by an article on Early Christian Epigraphy, by Ludwig Blau. The publication of a volume on this subject some time ago by Karl Maria Kaufmann stimulated Dr. Blau to search in it for references to Jews and Judaism, of which he found quite a few. The closeness of the early Christians to Judaism is evidenced not only by their frequent quotations from the Bible, but also by their use of phrases and even theological concepts found in the Rabbinic literature.

The apocryphal legend of Asenath, daughter of Potiphar and wife of Joseph, is treated in a lengthy contribution by Dr. V. Aptowitzer. After presenting a wealth of material from rabbinic literature dealing with the character of Asenath, some indicating that she was really a member of the family of Jacob, being the daughter of Dinah by Shechem, and others speaking of the manner in which she delivered Joseph from the

hands of Potiphar, the author proceeds to the consideration of the apocryphon, "The Legend of Asenath," discovered in the Greek language in the sixth century and soon after translated into Syriac. It is his opinion that the booklet was written originally in Hebrew, by a Palestinian Jew during the first century, and was soon translated, also by a Jew, into Greek, with the aim of having it serve the purpose of propaganda among the heathen, when the movement towards Judaism on the part of cultured pagans was at its highest. Asenath, an Egyptian woman, devoted to the idolatrous worship of the Egyptians, was acquainted with Joseph and through him with the religion of Abraham and became a faithful and devoted follower of that religion. This story was regarded best fitted to attract the many heathens who could no more be satisfied with their ancestral faiths to adopt the Jewish religion.

The religion of the Jews at the time of Jesus is identified by Dr. Louis Ginzberg with the religion of the Pharisees, which was identical with the religious views of the great masses of the people at that time. Taking Harnack's idea of the teachings of Jesus as being viewed from three aspects, namely the Kingdom of God and its coming, God the Father, and the infinite value of the human soul and the higher righteousness and the commandment of love, the author elaborates these three concepts as understood by the Pharisees, according to the traditions found in rabbinic literature. This article is the substance of a lecture which the author delivered before the Harvard Divinity School several years ago.

Dr. Jacob Mann again reviews the several Jewish institutions to which reference is made in the Synoptic Gospels. Among these are the rite of circumcision, the redemption of the first-born son, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, marriage ceremonies and table customs and the "last supper" as a paschal meal. In most instances he finds that the Gospels simply recorded customs that actually existed among Jews during that period, although he sometimes is confronted with references that are not borne out by the known practices of contemporaneous Jewry.

The last article in this division is by Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, who discusses related subjects from the standpoint of their treatment in the Gospels. His conclusions in several instances are at variance with accepted beliefs and theories of modern and ancient scholars and he characteristically concludes his study by expressing his doubt about the historicity of the central figure in the Christian religion. Baptism for proselytes, so frequently mentioned in the Gospels, he believes was not a Jewish Halakah until after 65 C.E., so that all New Testament

references to this must be regarded as additions after that date. He ingeniously distinguishes between the "washing of the hands" and the "impurity attached to the hands," the former being an institution established in 65 C.E., a modification of the laws of purity. It is doubtful whether this theory, which attaches such great importance to the eighteen Gezerot, instituted in 65 C.E., and which Dr. Zeitlin has made the pivotal point for many a departure from ancient traditions, in a number of articles, will be accepted by scholars generally. With regard to a matter that has been the subject of controversy among scholars for centuries, one should not be so positive in his assertions.

A Genizah fragment, which Dr. Israel Abrahams acquired and which is now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College, contains several fragments of prayers. The first is a form of Viddui (Confession of Sins) and it is in this that Dr. Abrahams believed to have found the lost confession of Mar Samuel, mentioned only by its initial words in Yoma 87b. Whether the identification is established or not, the fragment is certainly deserving of the close attention of students of the Jewish liturgy.

"The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions" is the subject to which Dr. K. Kohler devoted much time and energy. Even after the many new investigations of the subject, since the time of Zunz, Dr. Kohler finds the subject of fascinating interest. While discarding the Talmudic tradition that the origin of the Eighteen Benedictions is to be ascribed to the Men of the Great Synagogue, and even regarding the institution of the Keneset ha-Gedolah itself as fictitious, Dr. Kohler still finds that the Eighteen Benedictions arose at an early age, possibly in pre-Maccabean times, and came from a Hasidean source. He analyzes the benedictions found in our present version, comparing them with other versions and throwing new light on many phrases and expressions found there. Perhaps the most interesting part of this article is the translation given at the end from the seventh book of the Apostolic Constitutions, which the author regards as having originated in Jewish prayers. The notes accompanying the translation indicate how the early Christians made use of the Essene prayers, only in very few cases adding a reference to Jesus.

Dr. Jacob Z. Lauterbach discusses "The Arrangement and the division of the Mekilta," showing the confusion that exists in the present editions, which vary from one another and especially from the two manuscripts, the Oxford and the Munich. He also mentions another manuscript of the fourteenth century in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, of a work in which frequent references are made to the Mekilta,

but following a peculiar form of division. The author concludes his study with a comparative table showing the division into treatises and chapters in the two manuscripts and the three earlier editions.

In Rabbinic times, there were three distinct forces arrayed against the purity of the Jewish monotheistic belief: the polytheistic conception, the Gnostic idea of duality and the Christian belief in the trinity. Dr. A. Marmorstein brings together the various references in the Talmud and other Rabbinic literature, classified under these three headings, indicating the zeal with which the Rabbis endeavored to struggle against these incursions on the purity of the Jewish belief, trying by symbol, parable and direct appeal to impress the people with the grandeur and sublimity of the unadulterated monotheism, which has always been the glory and distinction of Judaism.

This article forms a natural transition to the next section, devoted to philosophical studies, including two articles. Dr. Neumark contributes an exhaustive review of Malter's "Saadia Gaon, his Life and Works," beginning with a most glowing panegyric on the work, saying that it "threw open all avenues and doors to the remotest and most inconspicuous sources of information," and later proceeding with a critical analysis of Malter's presentation of Saadia's philosophy, pointing out a number of errors in the estimate presented in that work. Harry Austryn Wolfson discusses the proofs presented by medieval Jewish philosophers of the existence of God, comparing these with classical, Christian and modern philosophic thought.

The poetic section contains a solitary brief article by Samuel Poznański regarding the authorship of some liturgical poems ascribed to Moses ibn Chiquitilla, and a note on the same subject by Israel Davidson.

The section devoted to historical studies also contains a single article by Dr. Alexander Marx, who, with characteristic thoroughness, discusses the life of an Italian Rabbi of the early part of the sixteenth century, throwing considerable light on the every-day duties of the medieval Rabbi. David ibn Yahya, a refugee from Portuguese persecutions, became the Rabbi of Naples at the persistent urgings of the leaders of that community, including the brother and son of the famous Isaac Abravanel. Although promised a salary, he received none for ten years. After that, the community contracted to pay him an annual salary of 100 scudi in gold, but at the time he made no claim for the back salary that was due to him. Several years passed and the community found itself unable to meet its obligations. Even after conditions improved, the leaders refused to honor his claim for the money due him for the past years.

David then addressed an appeal to the Rabbis of his time, in which he relates all the details of the proceedings, emphasizing his onerous work in behalf of the community, especially in connection with the education of the young. It is this document, that is preserved in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which Dr. Marx presents here, with his illuminating notes and thorough-going introduction. There are numerous points of human as well as historic interest in this document, which are pointed out in the introduction.

The volume concludes with an essay by Dr. I. Elbogen, entitled "Destruction or Construction?", dealing with the changes that have come upon Jews and Judaism during the past century and a half. Judaism in the pre-Mendelssohnian period was in a state of degradation and decay, and it was only through the activities of the German school of students that new life and a new turn was given to Jewish strivings and ideals. Even the modern national ideal would have been impossible without the works of the pioneers in the field of the "Science of Judaism." Dr. Elbogen's thesis is open to such different interpretations and so much ink has already been spilled on the discussion of this subject that it is futile to enter into an extensive analysis of his arguments on the facts that he marshalls in their support.

It is encouraging to note that more than one half of the contributors to this volume are American Jewish scholars, although most of them received their early training in European seats of learning. The volume, which is most creditable to the love of scholarship that is gradually permeating the lives of American Jewry, was printed in Germany and because of that a number of printer's errors have crept in. The student will not be disturbed by these, as they are readily noted and corrected.

The second volume of the Annual (1925), opens with a sad note announcing the death of one of its editors, Dr. David Neumark. The volume itself begins with an article by Julian Morgenstern, entitled "Moses with the Shining Face," with reference to Ex. 34:29-35. This is rather a textual study than a theological exposition of the phenomenon described in these verses. The author endeavors to establish the fact that these verses as well as the preceding sections in Ex., and similar sections in Num. 11 and 14, emanate from a single source, which he designates as J2 and which he places in the latter part of the seventh century. He sees in all these passages the glorification of Moses and the position assigned to him as the intercessor with God, also the appeal made to the preservation of the reputation of God among the nations of

the earth and the reference to the merit of the patriarchs (Kiddush ha-Shem and Zekut Abot). In passing, he also touches on the origin of these ideas as found in the Prophets, and the whole notion of human intercession as already indicated in the case of Abraham. This notion, however, that the righteous person may have more ready access to the favor of God is so human and so universal that it may be hazardous to set any particular date for its inception.

Chaldea has played an important part in ancient Jewish history and a resumé of its early beginnings, in 851, and its history during the period of the Assyrian and later Babylonian ascendancy, is of tremendous interest to the Jewish student. A. T. Olmstead presents here a brief narrative of the Chaldean dynasty until the country became merged with Persia, under the rule of Cyrus, placing special emphasis on the relationship of the Chaldean kings to both the northern and the southern kingdoms of Judea.

W. J. Chapman presents in a brief article a theory regarding the dating of the reigns of certain kings, as found in the Bible, by which he endeavors to solve some complications in the duration of the reigns of several kings of Israel and of Judah.

A strong appeal is made by William Popper for the greater use to be made of the occurrence of parallelism in the Bible for the solution of the many problems created by biblical criticism. The metric test has of late been applied to the study of the Bible with satisfactory results. In the same manner, the test of parallelism might be employed, as indeed it was employed by the author himself in several of his previous studies. George Buchanan Gray and George Adam Smith recognized the value of this test, but did not make use of it to the extent that it could be used. From several striking examples which he quotes, especially from the book of Isaiah, the reader will see the great value of that study and the effect that it may have on the whole subject of biblical research.

The value of the observation of parallelism for exegetical purposes is brought out plainly in several of the meanings given to Hebrew words in the following article by Joseph Reider. He takes up a number of uncertain Hebrew words in the Bible and by comparing the roots with the same roots in cognate languages arrives at some new and very interesting interpretations.

The fact that the institution of the apostolate can be found among Jews already in biblical times, even as early as the time of Hezekiah, leads Herman Vogelstein to assume that Christian apostles mentioned

in the New Testament functioned in a manner well-known to the Jewish writers of the Gospels. He began these studies with an article that appeared in the *Monatsschrift* about twenty years ago and in this contribution he still further elaborates his theory, pointing to the apostolic mission of Ezra and to the Pesach epistle of Darius II, found among the Elephantine papyri. Other expressions, especially from the Books of Chronicles, are quoted by him in corroboration of the theory that there were special messengers, who were invested with authority, to proclaim certain messages or perform certain acts in distant communities, or who were sent by the distant communities with similar powers, to the central authority. The Hebrew word *shalah* and *shaliah* assumed a technical sense, applying to these plenipotentiaries or apostles in the later books of the Bible.

In his article "Judaism in the Church," Leo Baeck endeavors to present an outline history of the persistence of Jewish ideas in the Christian Church. In a graphic manner, he relates the struggle of Paul against the Jewish conception of law and the entire break with Judaism on the part of Paul's successors, especially the Gnostics. The Papacy endeavored to compromise between Paulinism and the Old Testament, but the conflict continued in the schools and manifested itself again at the rise of the Reformation. This is entirely a new point of view, of exceeding interest, although sometimes rather strained.

Arabists and Hebrew philologists will find considerable interest in the contribution of Joseph Horovitz on "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran." The author first mentions all biblical proper names found in the Koran, determining as far as possible, whether they were derived from Jewish sources or from Syrian Christian sources. In the second chapter, he enumerates in alphabetical order Hebrew words which were adopted by Mohammed in their original or somewhat modified form. The subject, although technical, presents many interesting points and the author speaks with authority on the matter, with which he is apparently fully familiar.

Not only in his *Mishneh Torah*, but also in his commentary to the *Mishnah* as well, Maimonides is primarily the decisor, the authority to decide the law when there are conflicting opinions regarding it. "He never left unsettled open controversies, and he took opportunity to settle questions of merely academic character, if according to some point of view there could be attached to it actual significance also". Dr. Michael Guttman has collected all the decisions found in the *Siraj* of Maimonides and arranged them in alphabetical order, according to

A FIFTH MS. OF BEN SIRA

BY JOSEPH MARCUS, New York

IT HAS been my good fortune to discover a new leaf of the original Hebrew of Ben Sira, among the numerous manuscripts of the Adler collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS. Adler 3597.

This discovery, coming more than three decades after the flush of excitement of the first discoveries, besides its own intrinsic interest and importance, filling up a large gap, will, I hope, succeed in drawing the attention of scholars to the possibility that all the Genizah material has not yet been carefully examined, and that there may yet be, awaiting the discerning eye of the scholar, hidden leaves of Ben Sira to be brought to light. This probability gains strength by the fact that this latest find bears witness to the existence of a fifth MS. of Ben Sira, besides MSS. A, B, C, and D, as designated by Doctor Solomon Schechter. This MS. is therefore designated "MS. E."

DESCRIPTION OF MS. E

MS. E. Consists of one paper leaf, 20 cm. long by 16 (?) cm. wide (it is torn off lengthwise), while the space given to the writing measures $15\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ (?) cm. The writing is in a cursive, medium hand. There are 24 lines on one side and 21 on the other, comprising chs. 32, 16—34, 1. The lines are stichometrically divided, which is the conspicuous feature only of MS. B. There are no vowel points (except יָיִ in the fifth line, and the tetragrammaton which has a ḳameṣ under the two yods). The division of the stichoi is mostly marked thus :< or merely by two dots.

There are several orthographical errors and one word cancelled by the scribe by a line drawn over it.

This MS. is free from doublets, corruptions and blemishes which disfigure the other MSS. and has only one marginal gloss. (It seems that there were no glosses in the torn-off margin.) This marginal gloss is of great interest as it agrees with the Greek version, whereas the text agrees with the Syriac. This substantiates further the assumption that the Greek and Syriac translations represent different recensions of the Hebrew which have been combined by the scribe from different texts. Although the MS. contains the end of ch. 32 and the beginning of ch. 34, there is no indication of a division into chapters.

There is yet another point of interest to this MS. All extant Greek MSS. are descended from a MS. in which a number of leaves had been misplaced, chapters 30, 25—33, 16 having been placed after 33, 16—36, 12, due, according to Edersheim, to a misplacement of sheets in the archetype of the Greek MSS. As this new leaf contains the entire chapter 33, we find, as was to be expected, that it has the right order. We now possess the original Hebrew of the three places affected by the dislocation (30, 25; 33, 16 and 36, 13).

LANGUAGE OF MS. E AND ITS RELATION TO MS. B

The authenticity of the language of this fragment is evident in every line. Moreover, there are several interesting examples where we can see that the translators, especially the Syriac, misread the Hebrew. The surmises of Ryssel, Smend and others are now substantiated. The Syriac, for example, translates ואין חזירא כולהין by ואופן חזיר מחשבותיו misreading חזיר for חזיר. Again, he translates אור קשמש נהירא יומתא דשנתא משמשין by שונה מעל שמש misreading קשמש for

קִשְׁקֶשׁ (in our text שְׁמֵשׁ וְעַל שְׁמֵשׁ) and שְׁוֹה for שְׁוֹהָ. In the 11 distichs of MS. E which overlap MS. B, thus providing a second text against that of MS. B, the variants are very slight, agreeing mostly with the margin of B. In this respect it resembles MS. D, which also agrees with the margin of B. This leads to the supposition that the text before us is similar to the text used by the Persian glossator who added the marginal readings in MS. B. Our text may therefore also be of Persian provenance. One distich found in MS. B is missing in our MS. and one is misplaced.

Our text agrees on the whole both with the Greek and Syriac versions. In the notes a thorough comparison has been made of the Hebrew with both versions and full note taken where it agrees with the Greek against the Syriac or vice versa, and where it shows divergence from both. There remains to be added that between 33, 3 and 35, 11 of which the Hebrew original was not extant till now, the Greek has 68 distichs. Of these exactly half has now been recovered. There are now added 34 new distichs to the 1056, for the most part entire, thus far recovered, out of the 1616 represented in the Greek text.

In editing this MS. I follow the arrangement of the verses as in Swete's edition of the Septuagint. Words and letters not visible in the MS. are enclosed in brackets, while those which are faint or uncertain have a mark (v) over them.

A PROSODIC VERSION OF BEN SIRA (MS. ADLER 3053)

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XII, for April 1900, p. 459, Doctor Solomon Schechter reproduced a MS. which he described as follows: "[It] consists of two leaves, paper (21 x 18 cm.), written in an ancient hand. It is provided with vowel points and represents a collection of proverbs and sayings. The style is highly Paitanic, and it is composed

in rhymes. I am unable to identify it, but it can hardly be doubted that the author was acquainted with the Wisdom of Ben Sira . . . Of course, the language is almost obliterated in the production of our Paitan, with whom, as it seems, rhyme and elegance were of supreme importance . . . his use of Ben Sira is evident in many a line to every careful reader."

Schechter's fragment parallels chapter 12, 2-5 and ch. 13. The second MS. reproduced here on p. 238 parallels ch. 22, 22-23, 9, containing "one of the most striking passages expressive of personal religion in the whole book" (Oesterley, Introduction, p. 286). It consists of one paper leaf (16½ x 12½ cm.). Schechter's remarks apply most aptly to this MS. also.

As the relation of the Greek and Syriac versions to this passage has been fully discussed by the Ben Sira scholars, I reproduce here, without further remarks, the MS., the Syriac version and my Hebrew retroversion based on the Greek, giving examples, for my choice of words and phrases, from Ben Sira and Old Testament parallels.*

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

Edersheim, *Ecclesiasticus*, in the "Speaker's Commentary," London 1888.

Cowley and Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus*, Oxford 1897.

Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambridge 1899.

* I wish to express my thanks to my teacher, Professor Alexander Marx, Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for placing at my disposal the rich collection of MSS. in the Library, and for making several suggestions; to my friend, the Hebrew writer Mr. Isaac Rivkind, assistant in the Library, for his constant encouragement and stimulus; to Messrs. Michael S. Schapiro and Abraham Duker, of the Library staff, ever ready with interest and devotion to be of service.

Ryssel, *Die Sprüche Jesus', des Sohnes Sirach*, in Kautzsch's
"Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des
Alten Testaments," Tübingen 1900.

Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique*, Paris 1898-1901.

Peters, *Hebräischer Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus*, Freiburg
1902.

Peters, *Liber Iesu Filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus*, Hebraice,
Friburgi Brisgoviae 1905.

Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, Berlin 1906.

Ginzberg, "Randglossen zum hebräischen Ben Sira," in
Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke, Giessen
1906.

Box and Oesterley, *The Book of Sirach*, in *The Apocrypha
and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, by Charles,
Oxford 1913.

For the Hebrew Text

Strack, *Die Sprüche Jesus', des Sohnes Sirach*, Leipzig 1903.

For the Greek Text

Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. II, Cambridge 1896.

Hart, *Ecclesiasticus, The Greek Text of Codex 248*, Cambridge
1909. (See the review by Prof. Max L. Margolis,
in the *J. Q. R.*, New Series, vol. I, p. 403.)

Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, and the
Supplement, containing the Hebrew equivalents
to portions of Ecclesiasticus.

For the Syriac Text

Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, Leip-
zig 1861. (I give the Syriac characters in
Hebrew transliteration.)

MS. ADLER 3597

ותחבולות מנשף יוציא	16 יִירָא יִי יִבִּין משפט	recto C. 32
וחכמות יִצִיאוֹן מלבם	16 ⁽¹⁾ יִירָא יִי יִבִּינו משפטו	
ויאחר צרכו לַמשך תורה	17 [איש חמס] יטה תוכחות	
ולץ לא ישמר לשונו	18 [איש חכם לא יכס] חכמה	
וד ולץ לא יקח מצוה	18 ⁽¹⁾ [איש חמס] לא יקח שכל	
ואחר מעשיך אל תתקפץ	19 ובלא עצה אלו תפעל דבר	
ואל תתקל בדרך פִּעֲמִים	20 ובדרך מוקשתו אלו תלך	

(For the overlapping distichs I bring also Schächter's notes)

16, 16⁽¹⁾ "The latter verse is preserved in the Syr., whilst the Gr. seems to be based on the former, reading יציה for יוציא (cf. Ed.)" (Schächter). Cf. Prov. 28, 5 רבוֹת מִבְּקֵשִׁי יִי יִבִּינוּ and MS. E omits רבוֹת which is found in MS. B and in Syr. (וחכמתו כוונתה). The Greek ὡς φῶς ἐξάψουσιν may have been influenced by the LXX translation of Ps. 37, 6 καὶ ἐξοίσει ὡς φῶς τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου. The Greek in our text seems to be a free, not a verbum verbo, rendering, and there is no need to suggest (Smend) that it read כרשף and (Smend, Peters) יציתו (ἐξάψουσιν).

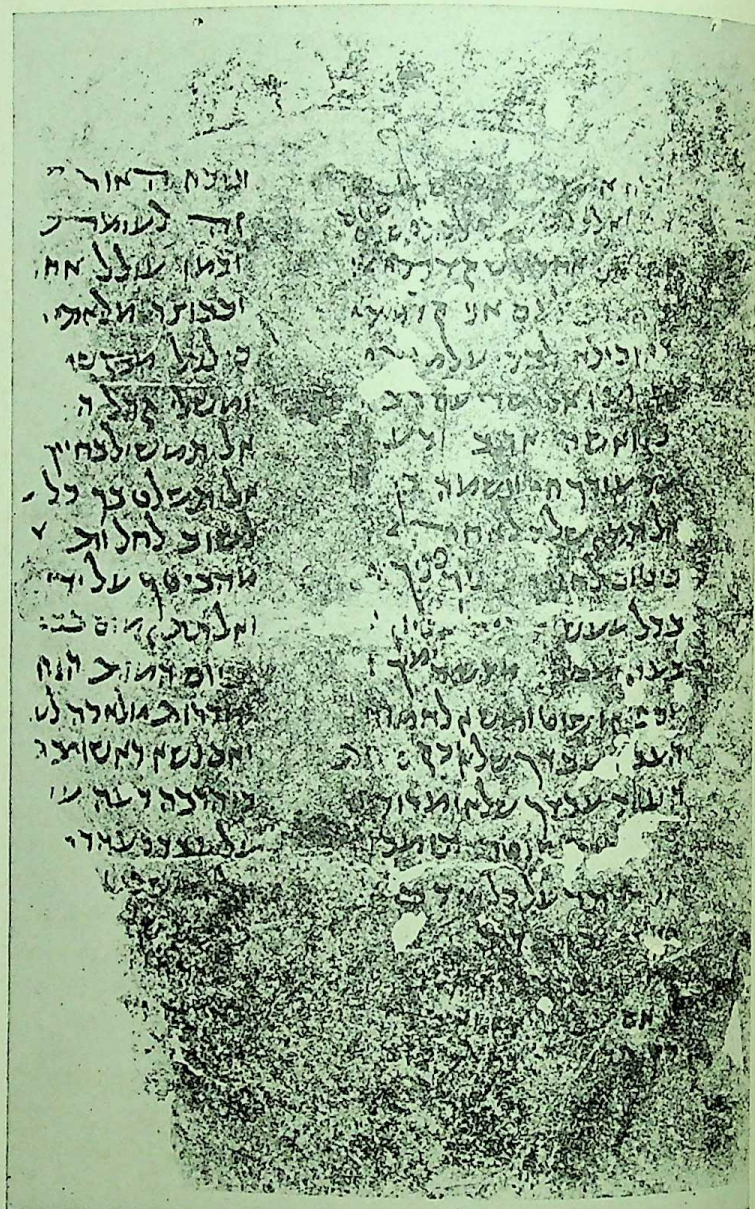
17. "17. Gl. This is the correct reading, and is also supported by the Gr. [תורה] Read תורה or תוכחה. Syr. אורחו. The ימשך (Syr. יעשה) may have been suggested by Job xxi. 33 and xxviii. 18" (Schächter). In reconstructing the text I follow the margin of B (Bm), which is supported by the Gr.; Syr. reads ברנשא ערימא = איש חכם like B. The second stichos of E = Bm, unlike the text of B which reads ואחר צרכו ימשך.

18. "17⁽¹⁾. This verse is preserved in the Syr. (reading with the Gl. חכמה), though the preceding is retained" (Schächter). As for the corrupt Gr. text see Smend.

18⁽¹⁾. "The שכל of the Gl. is preserved in the Gr. (διανόημα—reading also ישכח for יקח), whilst in the second clause it agrees more with the text, reading of course ור (ἀλλότριος) for וד (cf. Ed.), and מורה for תורה" (Schächter). This verse agrees with Bm. Note the Šere (·) in the word ולץ.

19. Agrees with B, except for the scribal error תתקפץ for תתקפץ. A similar case of transposition is found in 33, 18 (עמלתי for עלמתי, see below). See Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxxvi, for a list of similar transpositions in MS. B.

20. "20. Cf. Is. viii. 14" (Schächter). MS. E reads בדרך instead of בנף of B, agreeing neither with the Syriac (בכאפא) nor with the Gr. ἐν λιθῶδεσι (read λίθω δισ; Hart, in text. com. p. 184). The word פעמים is very faint, but slight traces of the פ and final ם are discernible.



BEN SIRA (ECCLUS.) MS. E VERSO (33, 14^v-34, 1)

21 ואל תבטח על דרך רשעים 22 ובאחריתך הידמהיר C. 33
1 וירא יי לא יפגע רע
24 [שומר תורה] נוצר נפשו (C. 32)
כי אם בנסוי ישוב ונמלט
ובוטח ביי לא יבוש

21. MS. B reads:

הוֹזֵר ^{וֹזֵר}	22	וּבִאֲרַחֲתֶיךָ הַשֹּׁמֵר	21	אֶל תִּבְטַח בְּדֶרֶךְ מַחֲתָף ^{וֹזֵר}	רְשָׁעִים ^{וֹזֵר}
וּבִאֲרַחֲתֶיךָ הַזֶּהֶר			22(†)	אֶל תִּבְטַח בְּדֶרֶךְ רְשָׁעִים	

“מחקה] Cf. Prov. xxiii. 28, as well as above, xv. 14 and below, l. 4. The ink is much faded in the margins, which makes the reading of the Gl. (particularly רשעים) extremely doubtful. Perhaps it is משדדים which the Gr. again, as it would seem, read מישורים. 22(1) Only preserved in the Syr., which however omits the preceding verse” (Schechter). MS. E agrees with the Gr., while the Syr. and MS. B 22(1) read ובארחתך. MS. B has a doublet; B 21 השמר Bm 21 הזהר, the latter agreeing with B 22(1) הזהר; E 21 היה זהיר. Concerning the word מחקה see Smend. MS. B has here two verses not found in E, the two verses, however, being a doublet of verse 23 ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ πιστεὺε τῇ ψυχῇ σου, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν τήρησις ἐντολῶν.

22 ⁽²⁾	בכל דרכיך שמור נפשך	כי כל עושה אלה שומר מצוה
23	בכל מעשיך שמור נפשך	כי עושה זה שומר מצוה

"22⁽²⁾, 23. In the Rab. literature (B. T. Berachoth 32b) the exposing of oneself to danger is regarded as a transgression of the Scripture words *רק השמר לך* (Deut. iv. 19)" (Schechter).

24. In MS. E this verse follows verse 1 of ch. 33. A similar misplacement occurs in ch. 12 where the last verse of ch. 11 follows verse 1 of ch. 12. In the first stichos I supply נוצר [שומר הור] as נוצר is already found there. This order is found in Prov. 16, 17 נוצר נפש שומר, but compare Prov. 19, 16 שומר מצוה שומר נפשו. (We might then reconstruct נוצר הורה נוצר נפשו). MS. B reads נוצר הורה שומר נפשו. Syr. reads נוצר אורחה נש פוקדנא דאלהא ומן דחכיל על אלהא לא נאבד לעלם.

Ch. 33

1. The first hemistich is complete in MS. B, while the second is defective there [פנע רע] ושב מ כי אם בניסוי ע' [ומ] לט] Cf. I Kings v. 18. The supplying of the missing letters is suggested by the Gl. and the versions. Cf. Ed." The word בניסוי occurs both in B and E as well as in ch. 44, 20 ובניסוי נמצא נאמן. This Neo-Hebrew formation, "bisher nicht belegt" (Smend), can now be accepted on the threefold evidence. Smend distinguishes נסוי from נסיון which occurs in 4, 17; 6, 7; 13, 11. "Hier und 44, 20 von der Versuchung durch Gott." ישוב agrees with Gr. and Syr. MS. B is defective.

2. [לא יחכם] שונא תורה ומתמוטט כמסערה אונו
4. [הכן דבריו] ואחר תעשה ובית מנוח ואחר תגיה

2. MS. B reads:

2. לא יחכם שונא תורה. ומתמוטט במס במסער
3. איש נבון יבין דבר. ותורתו כא

* * * * *

"2. . . . [במס] The rest is torn off. The Beth is doubtful, and may be taken as Kaph. Perhaps we had here *ומ' במסה*, whilst the Gr. represents the Gl. 3. . . . [כא . . .] Perhaps we have here the remains of *כאורים* (see Gr.) *וכהן*, but the letters are very doubtful. The one given as *א* may also be taken for *מ*, whilst of the *ן* only the leg is left, and may as well represent a trace of any final letter or of a Kaph" (Schechter). Verses 2, 3 and 4 are wanting in Syr. Gr. reads: *ἀγὴρ σοφὸς οὐ μισήσει νόμον* = *איש חכם לא ישנא תורה*. The second stichos, defective in B, reads clearly in E *ומתמוטט כמסערה אונו* "and his armor totters as from a tempest." Gr.: *ὁ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν καταγίδι πλοῖον* = "but the profane man is like a ship in a tempest." In MS. B . . . *במס* caused various conjectures, see Schechter, Peters, Smend. Smend: "Das Nomen *מסער* is sonst nicht belegt." The Gr. apparently read *אניה* for *אנו*. In E the *ו* of *אנו* is faint.

3. Verse 3 is wanting in MS. E as well as in Syr. See preceding note, and the comments of Peters and Smend. Smend reconstructs: *ותורה* *לו טט[פת] קש[יר]ת [יר]*. Peters: *ותורתו [כאורים נאמנה]*.

From verse 4 on, MS. E continues, filling a large gap.

4. This verse is wanting in Syr. [הכן דבריו], only the final *ך* is visible. Gr. *ἐτοίμασον λόγον*. Cf. 18, 23 *πρὶν εὐξασθαι ἐτοίμασον σεαυτόν* (*תהי עזך עש*) and Tanhuma *וישלח* § 8 (quoted in Cowley and Neubauer xxiii, No. xxx *כמתה כן נדרך בל תהיה כמתה*). Instead of *ואחר תעשה* Gr. has: *καὶ οὕτως ἀκουσθήσῃ* = (?) *ואחר תשמע*. The second stichos presents difficulties. The words *ובית מנוח* are clear. In the last word we discern the roof of the *ח*, the second letter seems to be a *נ* (cf. *יפגע רע*), then *יה*. Gr. reads; *σύνδεσον παιδείαν καὶ τότε ἀποκριθήτι* = "Bind up instruction and then reply." In I Kings 6, 10 the LXX translates *הביה את ויאוהו את* *καὶ συνέσχευ* *τὸν σύνδεσμον*, *σύν-σμος* meaning "that which binds together," "bond," "fastening." (See, however, Burney, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, Oxford 1903, p. 68: "LXX . . . appear to have read *היצוע* ויאוהו את. This reading is favoured by Ew., but is probably merely a mistranslation." Even if we make a verb from *ביה* "to bind," the rest of the stichos does not yet give sense. The word *מנוח* is found again in 12, 3 *אין טובה למנוח* *רשע*. Schechter p. 47 remarks: "*קנוח* inf. of a lost verb *קנח* (cf. the Heb. noun *מנוח* and the Arab. verb *مَنَحَ*) meaning to bestow gifts." I sug-

- ומהם שם לימי מספר
ומן עפר נוצר אדם
וישם אותם דרי האנדרמה
וישננה את דרכיהם
ו[ומהם הקדיש ואולי
הקריבם]
ודחפם ממעבדניהם
- 9 [ומהם בדרך והקדשו
10 ווכל איש מכלי חמר
11 [נחכמות יי' תבדילם
12 [ומהם בדרך והרזים מה
12⁽¹⁾ [ומהם קלל ו[השפילם]

9. ^{ויברך}אלהים 2, 3 Cf. Gen. The left tips of the ב are visible. Ex. 20, 11 ^{ויקדשו}את יום השבת ויקדשו אותו, את יום השביעי ויקדשו אותו. We might expect the reading ^{ויקדשו}לימי מספר. Gr. *ἐἰς ἀριθμὸν ἡμερῶν*. Cf. 37, 25 (MS. C. ^{חיי}איש מספר ימים); also 41, 13. טובת הי ימי מספר. Here, however, it means "ordinary days."

10. According to the Syr. we should reconstruct ^{והם}כל איש; the space, however, does not seem to warrant this extra word. Gr. *καὶ ἀνθρώποι πάντες*. Cf. Job 33, 6 ^{ומהם}מכלי חמר. ^{וכר נא כי}חמר 9, 10; ^{מחמר}קרצתי גם אני 6, 33. Cf. Job. עשיתי ואל עפר חשיבני ויצר 2, 7 Gen. ^{ה'}אלהים את האדם עפר מן האדמה.

11. Only the n of ^{נחכמות}חכמה is visible. Syr. ^{נחכמות}חכמה דאלהא פרש אנהן ועבר. The superlinear and marginal reading agrees with the text. The superlinear and marginal reading agrees with the Greek *ἐπιστήμη* (ברוב?) *ἐν πλῆθει* *Κύριος διεχώρισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἡλλώλωσε τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν*. Of the word the letters ^{נחכמות}חכמה and the top of the n are visible; the word ^{נחכמות}חכמה is written slanting downward, and ^{נחכמות}חכמה is in the margin. See Israel Lévi I, p. xv: "Comme de juste, ce sont celles de la marge qui généralement offrent la meilleure leçon." Smend LIX brings a number of passages where the text agrees with the Greek and the margin with the Syriac or vice versa.

12. The final ^{ומהם}ם is not certain. It is followed by ^{ומהם}מה which may be a double of ^{ומהם}ומהם of the second hemistich. Syr. ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם. Gr. *ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐλόγησε καὶ ἀνύψωσε*. (The LXX translates אביון ^{ומהם}ומהם Ps. 113, 7 ^{ומהם}ומהם.) This reconstruction is supported by the following verse making the exact opposite statement ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם (the ^{ומהם}ם of ^{ומהם}ומהם is not clearly visible, there is a faint trace of it). Cf. 7, 11 ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם. For the second hemistich Syr. reads ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם. Gr. *καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡγάλασε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγάγει*. Cf. Nu. 16, 5 ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם.

12⁽¹⁾. Only a trace of the final ^{ומהם}ם of ^{ומהם}ומהם is visible, and there is space between it and the ^{ומהם}ד to warrant reading in the plural. Gr. *ἀπὸ στάσεως αὐτῶν* which is the usual word in the LXX for ^{ומהם}ומהם. Syr. ^{ומהם}ומהם ^{ומהם}ומהם. Hence text should be corrected ^{ומהם}ומהם.

לאחוז כרצון
להתיצב מפניו חלק
ונוכח חיים מות

13 [נכומר ביד ה]יוצר
13⁽¹⁾ [וכן האדם ביד] עֹשֶׂהוּ
14 [נוכח רע] טוב

ונוכח האור חושך

14⁽¹⁾ verso נוכח איש טֹב רשע
15 הִבֵּט אל כל מעֲשֵׂה אל

כולם שנים שנים זה לעומת זה

13. Syr. omits the first hemistich. The words *למקמותה בכל* are combined with 13 and 13⁽¹⁾ and omits *לאחוז כרצון*. Gr. *ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*. For the second hemistich *πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ* Smend remarks: "Da von den ὁδοὶ des Tones keine Rede sein kann, ist hiernach statt *πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ* mit 70 zu lesen *πλάσαι αὐτό* (resp. *αὐτόν*). Vgl. Lat. (Dubl.): *plasmare illud und: omnes viae eius*." For *לאחוז* cf. I Kings 6, 10 *וַיֵּאָחֶז אֶת הַבַּיִת בַּעֲצֵי אַרְזִים*. For the entire thought see Jer. 18, 4 *כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּעֲנֵי הַיּוֹצֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת*. See also Ben Sira 50, 22 *הַמְגִדֵּל אֶת אֲדָם מֵרָחֵם וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ כְרָצוֹנוֹ*.

13⁽¹⁾. In the word *עוֹשֶׂהוּ* the bottom of the *ע* and part of the *ו* are visible. Gr. *ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ*. Syr. *למקמותה בכל*. It is of interest to compare the verses, Job 38, 13–14 *לֹאֲחֹז לְבֹשׁ בְּכַנְפֹת הָאֶרֶץ וַיִּנְעֲרוּ רִשְׁעִים מִמֶּנָּה תַּחֲפֹךְ כַּחֲמֵר חוֹתֶם וַיַּחֲצִיבוּ כְמוֹ לְבֹשׁ*. Cf. 2 Sam. 21, 5 *נִשְׁמְדוּ מִהַחֲצִיב בְּכָל נְבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל*; Ps. 94, 16 *וַאֲיֵן עֹמֵךְ לְהַחֲצִיב* and 2 Ch. 20, 6 *וַאֲיֵן עֹמֵךְ לְהַחֲצִיב*.

14. Cf. 11, 14 *וְרַע וְחַיִּים 37, 18 טוֹב וְרַע חַיִּים וּמוֹת רִישׁ וְעוֹשֶׂר מִי* הוא *טוֹב וְרַע*. See also 15, 17 *לִפְנֵי אֲדָם חַיִּים וּמוֹת*. Gr. *καὶ ἀπέναντι τοῦ θανάτου ἢ ζῆς* = *טוֹב וְרַע חַיִּים*.

14⁽¹⁾. Syr. omits the first hemistich. The words *טוֹב* and *נוכח* are faint. Gr. (248) read *οὕτως ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὁ εὐσεβής, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέναντι ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ὁ ἁμαρτωλός* while Swete has only *οὕτως ἀπέναντι εὐσεβοῦς ἁμαρτωλός* = *כֵּן נֹכַח צְדִיק* רשע.

15. The first word is very faint. The traces of three letters can be discerned which seem to be *הבט*. Cf. 39, 16 *הַבֵּט אֶל כָּל טוֹבִים*. See Isa. 5, 12 *וְלֹא רָאוּ יְדֵי יְהוָה וְעַמָּה יָדִינוּ* where the LXX also uses the same word *ἐμβλέπω*. For the construction of *הבט* with *אל* see Isa. 8, 22 *הַכְנֵה חוּי*. Syr. *בַּהֲבִיטוֹ אֵלֵיהֶם רַעַשׁ יִרְעָשׁוּ* and B. S. 16, 19 *וְלֹא הַבְּטָהֶם אֶל עֲשֵׂה*. Gr. *καὶ οὕτως ἐμβλεψον εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ὑψίστου* = *כָּל שְׁנוֹנִים זֶה מִזֶּה וְלֹא עָשָׂה 42, 24* cf. *זֶה לְעוֹמֵת [זוה]*. כֵּן הַבֵּט אֶל כָּל מַעֲשֵׂי עֲלִיוֹן מהם שׁי(?) Asher I, 4 "Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the other."

- 16 וגם אני אחריו שקדתי
 17 בברכות אל גם אני קדמתי
 18 ראו כי לא לבדי עלמתי
 19 שמעו אלי שרי עם רב
 20 בן ואשה אהב ורע
- וכמו עולל אחר הבוצרים
 וכבוצר מלאתי נקבין
 כי לכל מבקשי נחמה
 ומשלי קהל הואזינו
 אל תמשיל בחיך

16. The word אחריו is certain. Syr. אחרית Gr. ἔσχατος = אחרון. For the second hemistich Syr. reads מבערנא דכרמא בהר קטופא Gr. ὡς καλαμώμενος ὀπίσω τρυγητῶν. Latin: et quasi qui colligit acinos = and as one that gathers grapes. Here, in the middle of 33, 16 ἀγῶν ἔσχατος ἡ γρῦπησα = וגם אני אחריו שקדתי — καὶ κατακληρονομήσεις αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἂπ' ἀρχῆς = 36, 13 (Hebrew חסד כימי קדם occurs the transposition in all the Greek MSS., chapters 30, 25—33, 16 having been placed after 33, 16—36, 11. The Old Latin, Armenian (a daughter-Version of the Latin), and the Syriac have the right order of the chapters. And now we possess the original Hebrew of the three places affected by the dislocation (30, 25; 33, 16 and 36, 12), and, as was to be expected, the right order is found therein. For the form עולל (instead of מעולל) cf. Ex. 7, 27 לשלח ויאם קאן אהא לשלח, Jer. 13, 10 לשמע המאנים Eccles. 9, 12 יקשם כהם.

See Cowley, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, Oxford 1910 p. 143, for examples where the rejection of the מ may be favored by an initial ט. Here, too, under the influence of the מ of וכמו the participial מ was dropped.

17. The three middle letters of בברכה are extremely faint. Cf. 4, 13 ויהנו בברכה יי. Syr. ובטבתה דאלהא אנא קמא (perhaps a scribal error for קדמא).

18. This verse is omitted in the Syr. See 24, 34 where the similar verse is also wanting in the Syr. The Gr. in both places is almost identical. Hence the original probably read there: ראו כי לא לבדי עמלתי כי לכל מבקשיה: (cf. Gen. 43, 2 וישמו לו 2, 17 יהיו לך לבדך Prov. 5, 17 לך לבדך הטאתי 6, Ps. 51, 6 לברו ולהם לבדם). It may be that because of the preceding לא the לי was omitted erroneously by the scribe. Cf. 51, 13 ובקשתיה בה; 51, 26 למבקשיה; 51, 26 ובקשתיה בה. For the accidental transposition עמלתי for עלמתי see above, note to ch. 32 verse 19.

19. Cf. 4, 5 שומע לי ישפט אמת ומאזין לי ייחן בהדרי מבית 5, 4. The adjective רב is not rendered either in the Greek or in the Syriac.

20. Instead of אהב Gr. and Syr. read אח. This reading is more acceptable since אהב and רע are synonymous. Cf. Ps. 35, 14 ויהללני ויהללני. The scribe may have been influenced by Ps. 88, 19 ורע אהב ממני. Gr. ἐπὶ σὲ (248: ἐπὶ σεαυτῷ); Syr. לא חשלט בך בחיך. In the tear of the MS. there seems to be space for another word; however, we should expect בך to follow the verb, as in the next verse בך חשלט אל.

אל תשלט בך כל ובשר	21 עד עודך חי ונשמה בך
לשוב לחלות אות פתח	20 ⁽¹⁾ אל תתן שלך לאחר
מהביטך על ידי [בניך]	22 כי טוב לחלות בניך פניך
ואל תתן מום בכבודך	23 בכל מעשיך היה עליון
ביום המות הנחול נחלה	24 בעת מספר מצער ימך
ומרדות מלאכה לעובדך	25 מספוא ושוט ומשא לחמור

21, 20⁽¹⁾. Syr. follows the same order as the Hebrew. Gr. has 20⁽¹⁾ before verse 21 and reads *καὶ μὴ δῶς* = ואל תתן.

20⁽¹⁾. Gr. *περὶ αὐτῶν*. Syr. *למהפך ולמבעא מנהון*. This reconstruction is due to the fact that there is not apparently sufficient space to write א[ת פניהם]. Besides, אחר is singular while Syr. has it in the plural לאהרנא.

21. Gr. *μὴ ἀλλάξῃς σεαυτὸν πάσῃ σαρκί* = אל or אל המיר נפשך לכל בשר. See Ps. 119, 133 ואל תשלט בי כל און. Cf. B. S. 48, 12 ולא משל ברוחו כל בשר.

22. Cf. Ps. 123, 2 הנה כעיני עבדים אל יד אדוניהם. Syr. *הנה כעיני אנת מנהון*. Gr. is a literal translation of the Hebrew.

23. Cf. 7, 36 מעשיך זכור אחרית 31; בכל מעשיך היה צנוע 22, 32. לא נתן בכבודו מום 44; מעשיך שמור נפשך.

24. Syr. *ובזבנא דננמרון מנינא דיומאך דיומאך אורה נכסך לבניך*. Gr. read first ביום (*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*) then ובעה (*καὶ ἐν καιρῷ*), cf. however 51, 10 ביום שואה (*ἐν καιρῷ ὑπερηφανιῶν ἀβροθησίας*). Smend surmised correctly that the original had הנהל נהלה. Cf. Alfabet of Ben Sira II

צפון בני מסונך בחייך וטמנהו

וליושריך עד יום מוהך אל תהנהו

And B.S. 40, 29 איש משניה על שלהן זר אין הייו למנות חיים.

25. Cod. 248 adds here the title *περὶ δούλων* (concerning slaves) Latin: *de disciplina servorum*. Cf. Prov. 26, 3 שוט לכוס מהו לחמור ושבת לנו כפילים. In the first hemistich both Gr. and Syr. are literal translations. For the second stichos Syr. reads *לעבדא* = *ἐργα οἰκέτη* = לעבד. It may be that under the influence of לחמור the word *לחם* was omitted, and we should read לחם ומרדות ומלאכה לעבד. The word מרדות occurs only once in the Bible (I Sam. 20, 30 בן נעוה המרדות). Only in Aramaic does it have the meaning of מוסר, discipline, instruction, chastisement. See the marginal reading in 42, 8 על מרדות פוהה וכסיל where the text reads על מוסר. Smend LXI remarks: "Anderswo soll ein aramäisches oder neuhebräisches wort zur Erklärung für ein althebräisches dienen." This can now be disproved, for the margin represents another reading of a word in Ben Sira's vocabulary.

26 העבד עבדך שלא יבקש נַחַת ואם נשא ראשו יבגוד בך

28. הַעֲבֹדוּ עִבְדְּךָ שְׁלֹא יִמְרֹד 29 כִּי הִרְבָּה רָעָה עֲוֹנֹתָ עֲצֵלָה

27 [על ועבולת ח'וטר תומכו 30 על עבד רע הרנב אסוריות]

וְכֵן מִשְׁפָּט וְאֵל תַּעֲשֶׂה 30(1) אֵל תֹּוֹתֵר עַל כָּל אָדָם

26. In the first hemistich Syr. reads only **לֹא תֵלַח לִי נִיחָא**, omitting **פְּלוֹחַ** since the former verse ends **לְעִבְרָא** and the following verse begins **פְּלוֹחַ בְּעִבְרָא** (homoioteleuton).

Gr. (248) καὶ ζητήσῃ ἀνάπαυσιν = ויבקש נחת.

(Swete) καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀνάπαυσιν = נחם נחמ.

For the second hemistich Syr. reads *וְאֵן אֲרִימָה בְּרֶשֶׁה בְּעַד הַרְוֹה*. Gr. *ἀνὲς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ ζητήσῃ ἐλευθερίαν* = leave his hands idle and he will seek liberty. We should perhaps emend *וְאֵן תִּשָּׂא רֶגְלֶיךָ*.

28, 27. Gr. has the order 27, 28. In the Syr. 27 is omitted. 28 agrees with Syr. Gr. *ἵνα μὴ ἀργῇ* = that he be not idle. עבר בטלן = עין[שה] עצה[ל]. Gr. *ἐδίδαξεν ἡ ἀργία* = idleness has taught. As the ο of עין[שה] is not quite visible we might perhaps read עשה. Cowley and Neubauer p. xxxv No. xlv call attention to B. T. Baba Mešia, 65a דניחא ליה דלא נסתרי עבדיה דניחא ליה דלא נסתרי עבדיה 65a “For it is better for him that his servant should not become an idler.”

27. Omitted in Syr. and incomplete in the MS. Gr. ζυγὸς καὶ ἱμάς κάμπτουσι τράχηλον, καὶ οἰκέτη κακούργω στρέβλαι καὶ βάσανοι. In the LXX the word ^ליג is mostly translated by ζυγὸς, and עוב by ἱμάς. (Cf. 28, 20 ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς αὐτῆς ζυγὸς σιδηροῦς, καὶ οἱ δεσμοὶ αὐτῆς δεσμοὶ χαλκοῦ "For its yoke is a yoke of iron, and its bands are bands of steel"). The top of the י and ב of עובי is discernible. κάμπτουσι τράχηλον bow down the neck. Gr. may have read וצוהו הטח בעל (cf. 30, 12 κάμψον τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ=כח רשע). For the second hemistich cf. 32, 9 טרר ^להרדב א. Gr. στρέβλαι καὶ βάσανοι=מכחם וצינור (Smend). For the reconstruction cf. 4, 7 ויסרחוהו באסורים, and the Syr. of the next verse אסוריהו אסנא. Syr. ויכנוהו לה אשלטיה בביתך. Gr. εἰς ἔργα κατάστησον καθὼς πρέπει αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πειθαρχῇ, βάρυνον τὰς πέδας αὐτοῦ. Apparently the scribe jumped from the middle of the second hemistich of verse 27 to the middle of the second hemistich of 30:

על ועבנת חוטר תומכו
[הפקידוהו על ביתך כראוי לו
על עבד רע
וואס לא שמע לך]
[מהפכת וציניק]
הרב אסוריו

30^(r). Syr. לא דיין הכנא על כלש ודלא במוסא לא תעבר צבו. Gr. is a literal translation, adding *καὶ* (ואל חוהר). "may be restored with considerable certainty" (Edersheim).

From here to the end most letters are very faint in the MS.

..... כי במשפ	31 אֶחָד עֶבֶדךָ וְיִזְהִי כֹנֶפֶשׁךָ	
וְאֵל תִּקְנֶה בְּדַמִּי נִפְשְׁךָ	31 ⁽¹⁾ אֶחָד עֶבֶדךָ כֹּאֵחַ חֲשֹׁבוֹהוֹ	
בְּאִיזָה דְּוֶרֶךְ תִּמְצָאֶהוּ	32 כִּי אִם עֲנִיתוּ יֵצֵא וְאֵבֶד	
..... וְחִלּוֹמוֹת	1 רִיק תִּדְּ ת. חֵלֶת כּוֹז	C. 34

31. The reconstruction יהי כנפֿשֿך agrees with both the Gr. and the Syr. (Cod. 248: *ἔστω σοι ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ σου*; Swete: *ἔστω ὡς σὺ*). In the second hemistich the letters כִּי בִמְשַׁף or כִּי בִמְשַׁפ are discernible. Syr. מטול דאכותך. הכנא חוסרנך. The Gr. transposes the second hemistich of this and the following verse. Smend remarks that we should follow the Syr. order "da Gr. ursprünglich wohl ebenso las." The Hebrew seems to confirm this. Gr. *ὅτι ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἐπιδήσεις αὐτῷ* = כי כנפֿשֿך חסרהו (cf. 14, 3 which Schechter, however, corrects to חסרתו) cf. also 7, 21 עבד משכיל חבב כנפֿש.

31⁽¹⁾. אֶחָד עֶבֶדךָ כֹּאֵחַ חֲשֹׁבוֹהוֹ agrees with Cod. 248: *ἄγε αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφόν*. Swete has: *ὡς σεαυτὸν* = כנפֿשֿך. For the second hemistich Syr. ולא תחכה בדמא. Gr. *ὅτι ἐν αἵματι ἐκτίσω αὐτόν* (See Smend).

32. Syr. (חבקהו) *ἐν ποίᾳ ὁδῷ ζητήσεις αὐτόν*. Gr. ובאידא רוחא תשכחוי. The LXX, however, translates וילאו למצא הפתח (Gen. 19, 11) *καὶ παρελθῆσαν ζητοῦντες τὴν θύραν*. See Deut. 23, 16 אל אדניו (Gen. 19, 11) אשר יציל אליך.

Ch. 34

1. The last line in the MS. is extremely faint. Of the second word תד is discernible, then follow perhaps א or מ and another letter. Before תד may be a ל or כ and there may be a letter before that. The word דבעא סריקווא משכח. Gr. *κεναι αἱ ἐλπίδες καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀσυνέτῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ἐνύπνια ἀναπετροῦσιν ἄφρονας*. Reconstructing from the Gr. we may get תד תחלה כוב. From the remnants of the MS. we see, at all events, that the Gr. is nearer to the original than the Syr., which seems to be a paraphrase, contrary to Smend's assertion. The second hemistich may be reconstructed [ירחיבו כסיל] וחלומות. Cf. the LXX translation of Cant. 6, 5 שהם הרהיבוני *ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀνεπέρωσαν με*. Cf. 14, 2 הן תחלתו נכובה and Job 41, 1 ולא שבתה תחלתו.

MS. ADLER 3053

אמור ליוצרך אל אבי ואדון

חיי

אל תפילני בעצתי ומאויי

רדני עליצרי והצילני ממגורני

ומחול על חטאי כי אתה

בוראני

למען לא ירבה פשעי ולא

יוסיף רשעוני

אל תשמח עלי אויבי ואל

יזנחוני רעי וקרובי

גבה עינים אל תתנני ולב פחו

הרחק ממני

נפש עזה אל תמשל בי וטהר

רעיון לבבי וקרבי

פחוני יצר אל יחפיוני

ומליצי רע אל יליצוני

בשפתי אל תפילני ולשוני אל

ילכדני

לשבועה אל תאלפני ולפני

שופטים אל תושיבני

מוסר [פה]

הוצאת סוד חרפה גדולה

ומכת סתר ותוביא קללה

לפני אש תימרות עשן ולפני

שפך דם צרה תעשן

מסתיר סודו לא יבוש ומטמין

דבה רעתו יכבוש

[ואם] גלה לך רעך סודו אל

תגלהו

פן תהי כנבל בהוציאו ויזהר

ממך שומעהו

שים על פיך משמר ועל שפתך

חותם נגמר

למען לא תידמה במגלים

סודות

ולא תתן לנבלות אלק אודות

תשחית נפשך בגילוי סודך

ורעך אשר האמינך והבא ערך

SYRIAC

C. 22

22 בר חסדא מן דגלא ראזא ומחותא דסתרא מעברא רחמותא

23 סמוך רחמך במסכנותה דאף בטבתה תשתותף

בעדן עקתה הוי לה חברא דאף ביורתנה תארת

24 קדם נורא עטר תננא וקדם אשר דמא צערא

25 אן אתמסכן רחמך לא תבהתיוהי ומן קדמוהי לא תתטשא

[illegible]

PROSODIC VERSION OF BEN SIRA (22, 22-23, 9)
(MS. ADLER 3053, RECTO)

[illegible]

PROSODIC VERSION OF BEN SIRA (22, 22-23, 9)
(MS. ADLER 3053, VERSO)

- 26 אן גלא לך חברך ראזא לא תפקיוהי דלא כל דנשמעך
 נודהר מנך ואיך סרוחא נחשבך
 27 מן דין אקים על פומי נטורא ועל ספותי חתמא דאיקרא
 דלא אמר בהון נכלא ולשני לא נובדני

C. 23

- 1 אלהא אבי ומרהון דחיי לא תתקלני מטלתהון
 2 מן דין אקים על תרעיתי שוטא ועל לבי שבטא דיולפנא
 דהו מריא נחוס על חובי דבכנושתהון לא נארתון ולא
 נרחמון למחבלו
 3 מטל דלא נסגון חובי ולא נעשגון חטאי ונגלונני קדם
 בעלדבבא ונחדא לי סנאא
 4 אלהא אבי ומרהון דחיי לא תרמיני בטעיותהון
 5 עינא רמתא לא תתל לי ולבא פחזא ארחק מני ומדם דשפיר
 לא נפלטני
 6 ופחזא דבסרא לא נפחזני ונפשא חציפתא לא תשתלט בי
 7 יולפנא דפומי שמעו בניא ודמזדהר לא נתחסד
 8 בממלה גיר מתתחד רשיעא וסכלא בפומה מתתקל
 9 למומתא לא תלף פומך ובית דינא לא תהוא יתב
 10 מטל דכל ברנשא דמסגא למאמא מן מחותא לא זכא
 הכנא כל דמרגל וימא מן חובא לא זכא

RETROVERSION FROM THE GREEK

C. 22

22⁽¹⁾ אך חרפהי וגאון גלוי סוד²

- ומכת סתר³ מפניהם כל אוהב ינוס
 23 סמוך רעך בדלותו למען תחד⁴ בטובתו
 23⁽¹⁾ ביום צרה⁵ הכון עמו למען תנחל בנחלתו

¹ Cf. 5¹⁴ ועל מגלה סוד 15²⁰. מאוהב על דברי חרפה 41²²; בשת חרפה 5¹⁴.² Cf. Dt. 27²⁴ מכה רעהו בסתר. See Prov. 11¹³, 20¹⁹, 25⁹. ³ Cf. 10³¹ בדלותו. ⁴ Cf. 10³¹ ⁵ εὐφρανεῖς Syr. תחד read חשחות. (Ryssell and Smend). ⁶ Cf. 6¹¹ בטובתך הוא כמוך.

(23⁽²⁾) (כי איך לבזות⁹ תמיד מראה⁸ ואין לכבד⁸ עשיר חסר לב)
 24 לפני אש תימרות עשן ולפני שפך דם¹⁰ דבה
 25 אל תבוש¹¹ מאוהב כי ימוך ואל תסתר מפניו¹²
 26 כי אם רעה תשיגנו¹³ על ירך כל שומעו יזהר ממך
 27 מי יקים משמר על פי¹⁴ ועל שפת יחזות¹⁵ חכמה
 27⁽¹⁾ למען לא אפל

ולשוני אל תאבדני (Cod. 248) פתאם) בהם
 אל תעזבני בעצתם 1 אלהי אבי ואדון חיי¹⁶
 ואל תפילני בהם
 ועל לבי שבט מוסר¹⁷ 2 מי ישים שוט על יצרי
 למען לא יחמלו על משוגותי ולא יעברו על חטאי 2⁽¹⁾
 ולא יעצמו חטאי 3 למען לא ירבו פשעי
 וישמח עלי שונאי¹⁸ 3⁽¹⁾ ונפילתי לפני אויבי
 אל תעזבני בעצתם 4 אלהי אבי ואדון חיי
 ותאווה הרחק ממני²⁰ 5 רום עינים¹⁹ אל תתן לי
 ונפש עזה²² אל תמשל בי 6 פחוֹ־בשר אל יפחיוני²¹

מוסר פה²³

7 מוסר פה שמעו בנים²⁴ והנשמר²⁵ לא ילכד
 8 בשפתיו יוקש רשע ואויל בלשונו יכשל²⁶
 9 אל תאלף פיה לשבועה ואל תרגל להזכיר שם קדוש²⁷

אל תהלל⁹ Cf. 11² 10²³ Cf. 10²³ אין לבזות דל משכיל ואין לכבד כל איש חכם
 למען ספך דם¹⁰ Cf. Ez. 22⁶ אדם בחארו ואל תתעב אדם מכווער במראהו
 מפניך¹¹ Cf. 13²⁰ Job 13²⁰ ומפניך יסתר¹² Cf. 6¹² אל תבוש לשוב מעון¹² Cf. 4²⁶
 חכם¹⁴ Cf. 42²¹ אם רע קראך¹² 12¹⁷ ואם תשיגך רעה¹³ Cf. 6¹² לא אסתר
 על אשה רעה חותם חכם¹⁵ Cf. 42⁶ כי חשים עלי משמר¹⁷ Job 7¹² משמר
 Beginning with Ch. 23. וארומם יי אבי אתה¹⁶ 51¹⁰ אורך אלהי אבי¹⁸ Cf. 51¹⁶
 Cod. 248 has several variants and additions which may have been in-
 fluenced by liturgical use. 17 Cf. Prov. 22⁵ שבט מוסר¹⁹ Cf. 6¹
 19 Cf. Prov. 30⁸ רום עינים²¹ Cf. Prov. 21⁴ ושמחת שונא חשינם
 ויין ונשים יפחיוו לב²¹ Cf. 19² שוא ודבר כזב הרחק ממני ראש ועשר אל תתן לי
 ונפש עזה²² Cf. 19² כי נפש עזה²⁴ Cf. 6⁴ מוסר בשת²⁵ Cf. 41¹⁴
 25 Cf. 37¹¹ מוסר בשת שמעו בנים²⁶ Cf. 41¹⁴ והנשמר יוסיף חיים
 נוקשת באמרי פיה נלכדת באמרי פיה²⁷ Cf. 6² וכסיל לא ישמר עת²⁷ 20⁷ (καὶ ἀπιστοῦ καὶ ἀφροῦ) δὲ ἐλπίδος καὶ ὑπερήφανος = (לץ וד) may be an elaboration.
 27 Cf. 45⁶ וירם קדוש את אהרן

THE "SEDER ḤIBBUR BERAKOT"

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DROPSIE COLLEGE has added another interesting volume to its list of publications. Dr. Abraham I. Schechter's dissertation,* just issued under the auspices of that institution, deals with a subject that will attract and hold the attention of students of Jewish liturgy for more than one reason. In the first place, the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*, which forms the subject of this volume, is one of the early compilations of our Ritual and justly deserves to take its place alongside of the Seder of R. Amram, the Siddur of Saadiah Gaon, the Maḥzor Vitry and others. Then, again, it is a work which would have been lost to us altogether in the conflagration that destroyed the Turin Library if not for the fortunate accident that some years previously Professor Solomon Schechter had made a copy of the original MS. And although the copy is in many parts eclectic it has nevertheless preserved the greater part of the original, and what it has preserved is marked with carefulness and exactness.

After telling briefly the unique fate which befell this work (p. 4), Dr. A. Schechter proceeds to discuss at length the treatment which it received at the hands of mediaeval and modern authorities (p. 4-12), its authorship (p. 12-15), its relation to the *Midrash Sekel Tob* (p. 15-21), the spiritual relationship between Palestine and Babylon during the Geonic period (p. 21-26), the same between Italy and

**Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, based on a unique MS. entitled *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot*, in two parts, by ABRAHAM I. SCHECHTER, Philadelphia: 1930 8° VIII+139 pp.

Palestine (p. 26-33), the synagogal rivalry between Italy and Babylon (p. 33-40), the spiritual relationship between Spain and Babylon (p. 40-50), the criteria for the Palestine Rite (p. 50-64), the Babylonian elements in the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot* (p. 64-70), the first compiler of the Italian Ritual (p. 70-71), the Piyyutim in the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot* (p. 71-75), the orthography and style of this compilation (p. 75-78) and the life and times of Menaḥem b. Solomon (p. 78-79). These fourteen topics form the first part of the volume. The second part (p. 83-139) is devoted to some texts of the Seder and notes.

In the present article I am not prepared to take up all these topics for discussion. I shall rather adopt the method of an eclectic commentator, pointing out here and there what in my opinion stands in need of correction or amplification.

A statement to which one may take exception on the ground of logic occurs at the very beginning of the Preface. After characterizing the field of Liturgy as one "which has been overworked to the point of exhaustion" Dr. Schechter remarks a few lines below that "the sources of Jewish Liturgy are far from being completely exhausted". Another inexact statement is found on p. 1 where the MS. of the *S.H.B.* is described as containing a "complete" collection of Hebrew prayers, whereas on p. 4 it is stated correctly that the liturgies for New Year, Day of Atonement and Sukkot are not included. On p. 3 Dr. Schechter says: "As I set out to investigate the various rites of the Jewish Liturgy and endeavored to find a common source, the conviction forced itself upon me that the Palestinian rite was not altogether obliterated." Does he wish us to understand that this is a new discovery of his own or is it merely an infelicitous expression?

Nor is the statement on p. 12 that "of all the scholars

who have dealt with the *S.H.B.* none has indicated clearly who was the real author" quite what Dr. A. Schechter wants to say. For on p. 2 and 13 he himself gives credit to Zunz for ascribing the work to Menaḥem b. Solomon and the only contribution Dr. A. Schechter made towards the solution of the authorship is that while Zunz put a query after the father's name he asserted that there was no room to question and that this Menaḥem b. Solomon is identical with the author of the *Midrash Sekel Tob*, since he found some parallel passages between the *S.H.B.* and the *Midrash Sekel Tob*, although he himself asserts on p. 21 that the evidence deduced from these parallel passage is "not formidable."

In addition to parallels in שכל טוב, Doctor A. Schechter refers also to parallels in שבה"ל and contents himself with citing the paragraphs of the שבה"ל and the pages of *S.H.B.*, but does not quote the passages themselves. Since the copy of the *S.H.B.* is unique and is accessible only at the Jewish Theological Seminary, he should have cited the passages in full so that any reader could form an opinion for himself concerning the relation between the two works. As a matter of fact, I examined the passages in question, and I did not find that "the language is the same almost word for word" (p. 14). One would also wish that the references to מדרש שכל טוב were a little more definite. A reference to מדרש שכל טוב Ex. XII, as given on p. 19, is of little help, when we find that Chap. XII extends over 80 pages. Moreover, in not having the text before them, many readers will be puzzled to understand what Doctor Schechter means when he refers them to the שבה"ל and the *S.H.B.* in regard to "the custom of saying לכם ולהיות לכם twice in the Kedushah" (Ibid). Was there ever such a custom? The passage in question reads in the שבה"ל as follows: מִצַּאתִי לְגֵאוֹנִים זֶל אֵין אֹמְרִים פַּעֲמִים : לְהִיּוֹת לָכֶם בְּקֹדֶשׁ אֵלָא בְּמוֹסָפֵי שְׁבָחוֹת וַיִּמָּסְבִּין בְּלִבְר . . . וְלִמָּסְבִּין

נהגו לומר פעמים ולהיות לכם בקדושה מצאתי בתשובת הגאונים ז"ל מה שאומ"ן במוספי שבחות וימים טובים פעמים ולהיות לכם בקדושה לפי שבימות רב נחמן גזר יוגדר מלך פרס וכו'. The version of this passage in *S.H.B.* is as follows: במוסף בשבת ויום ולמה אומ' במוסף לכם לאלקים וכן במוסף יום הכיפורים ובמוסף חולי טוב פעמים ולהיות לכם לאלקים לפי שבימי רב נחמן בר רב הונא גזר של מועד ובנעילה של יום הכיפורים לפי שבימי רב נחמן בר רב הונא גזר יוגדר מלך פרס על אבותינו וכו'. Now it is really to be regretted that Dr. Schechter should have failed to understand the meaning of the expression: "פעמים ולהיות לכם." It does not mean "twice לכם" and פעמים and להיות לכם are the rubrics of two parts of the *Kedushah* which are said only on Sabbath and Holy days, just as וקרא and לעמתם are the rubrics of the preceding parts (See מחזור י"י, p. 4-5, where these rubrics are indicated in large type).

Having undoubtedly in mind the parallelism between *S.H.B.* and the מדרש שכל טוב and שבה"ל, Dr. Schechter makes the assertion (p. 12) that the *Seder* of R. Amram is not the foundation upon which the *S.H.B.* rests. This view is difficult to understand. For, even if we should accept Dr. Schechter's conclusion that there is a close similarity between שבה"ל and *S.H.B.* and granting that the author of *S.H.B.* is Menaḥem ben Solomon, the author of שכל טוב, I cannot see how this militates against the statement of Zunz and others that its author made use of the *Seder* of R. Amram.

But I have serious doubts whether Zunz was justified in suggesting that the name of the father of the compiler of the *S.H.B.* was Solomon. In the poem מלאה תכונת החול (fol. 45b in the original MS. and p. 91 in Prof. Schechter's copy) which concludes the week day Ritual and upon which he bases his statement, only the name Menaḥem occurs in acrostic and there is not the slightest support in the entire compilation for the supposition that this Menaḥem was Menaḥem b. Solomon. The parallels which Dr. A. Schechter

found between the *S.H.B.* and the *Midrash Sekel Tob* of Menaḥem b. Solomon, are, as I have said, far from convincing. Moreover, I have even reason to question the certainty that the name of the compiler was Menaḥem. For on p. 170 (original MS. fol. 123a) there is a similar little poem with the acrostic יהודה בן מנחם הרב. This poem which concludes the liturgy for שבת החדש and which Zunz seems to have overlooked reads as follows:

ידועות שירות וגליות	ידבר אל רב עליות
מקרה במים עליות	יהודה במלאכותיו נקיות
קשבות ארבע בויות	נאמץ מנהו בפרשיות
הלכות רבות צופיות	מדרשים תלמוד ומשניות

The letters of the acrostic are marked in the original MS. by dots according to Prof. Schechter's note on the margin of his copy. If we regard the verses מלאה תכונות החול as coming from the compiler we must regard the verses ידבר אל רב עליות also as emanating from him. Accordingly, there is also the possibility that the compiler was not Menaḥem, but Judah b. Menaḥem.

One might ask how we are to reconcile these two pieces of contradictory evidence. The only way out of the difficulty is if we could find that there was a family relationship between the two possible authors,—say that of father and son—in which case one or the other—more likely the son—would introduce in his work the name of his kin alongside of his own. Such practice is not unknown in Payyetic literature (Compare the piyyut אור ישע מאושרים). Now we know of a religious poet by the name of Judah whose father's name was Menaḥem and whose son was likewise called Menaḥem. I am referring to Judah b. Menaḥem, the author of several piyyutim included in the Roman Ritual (Compare עמודי העבודה 68 and Zunz, *Litg.* 140). His son, Menaḥem b. Judah was one of the signatories of the Responsum sent

by the scholars of Rome to the scholars of Paris¹ and the director of the Talmudic academy in Rome in 1166 mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela.² Of Menaḥem, the father of Judah, we know nothing. Therefore, we may leave him out of consideration, but either Judah b. Menaḥem, or his son, Menaḥem b. Judah, may have compiled the *S.H.B.*, or perhaps both had a hand in the compilation. Both were Halakic authorities and the father was a liturgist of repute. A compilation like the *S.H.B.* consisting of liturgical compositions and regulations would naturally come within the scope of their interests. That the *S.H.B.* should contain Italian glosses is very natural, since the son was Dayyan in Rome and the father most likely lived there also.

There is, however, a passage in the *S.H.B.* which, if we were sure that it emanated from the compiler himself, would make it impossible to consider either Menaḥem b. Judah or his father as the author of our compilation. In that passage, reproduced below, (See Text C), the writer cites Midrashic interpretations of his father—whom he does not name—which were told to him by R. Isaac of Russia. Now, it so happens that S. D. Luzzatto described a MS. of his, containing a Biblical commentary, in which the author likewise cites Biblical interpretations of his father transmitted to him by R. Isaac of Russia. In my opinion there can be no doubt that the author of the Biblical commentary and the author of the passage in question are identical. But Luzzatto has shown³ that the anonymous author of the Biblical Commentary was a grandson of R. Meshulam and a pupil of R. Judah Ha-Ḥasid. But R. Judah Ha-Ḥasid died in 1217, and even if he lived to the very ripe age of 80, he was

¹ See פריש לחכמי רומא חסובות חכמי רומא in Luzzatto's בית האוצר I, 57-59.

² See מסעות fol. 8; Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* II, 28; Gross, *Gallia Judaica* 508; *Jewish Enc.* viii, 468; Vogelstein—Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* I, 220, 227 note 6, 368; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte* 72.

³ See כרם חמד vii, 69-70.

born in 1137, in which cases he could hardly have been the teacher of R. Menaḥem b. Jehudah who was already the head of a Talmudic academy in 1166 when R. Judah Ha-Ḥasid would have been only 29 years old, and he certainly could not have been the teacher of Menaḥem's father.

Incidentally, this would also argue against the authorship of Menaḥem b. Solomon who wrote the *Midrash Sekel Tob* in 1139.

The passage in question, however, was, according to the testimony of Prof. Schechter on the margin of the MS., written in a different hand and probably by a later scribe.⁴ In that case, it can have no bearing upon the authorship of the *S.H.B.* and the hypothesis that it was compiled by R. Menaḥem b. Judah or his father or by both is not affected by it.

To come back to Dr. Schechter's Studies, I must say that what one misses above all is a description of the contents of the *S.H.B.* It seems to me that such a description would be more germane to the subject than the somewhat irrelevant discussions of the spiritual relationship between Palestine and Babylonia and Italy.

As there is no likelihood that the entire MS. of *S.H.B.* will be published, I deem it appropriate to supply this deficiency (Text D), and the task is made easier for me by the fact that the MS. itself has in most cases given rubrics of its own for the contents.

To touch upon a few details, it may be remarked that the author's reference to Tosaphot Megillah 20b which begins "כל הלילה . . . אומר ר"ח" with the words: "if this statement refers to R. Jacob b. Meir Tam" is rather puzzling. Is there any other Tosaphist by the name of R. Tam?

⁴ Professor Schechter's note reads בכתובה משונה ומאוחרת? The question mark is his. On the preceding page (159a), Prof. Schechter gives additions found in the MS. on the margin and these he ascribes definitely to a later scribe.

The assertion on p. 62 that Samuel's prayer *ממעמקי הלב* is entirely lost needs correction. It was lost, but it has already been found in the Genizah and has been published by Israel Abrahams in the Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. I, p. 383.⁵

I shall now turn to the Piyyutim of *S.H.B.* For whether the author is justified or not in his claim that from this compilation one can solve the problem of the Palestinian Liturgy (p. V, 2-3) it is certain that for the history of the Piyyut the *S.H.B.* is of great importance.

In chapter XIII, (p. 71-75), Dr. Schechter lists the piyyutim which are found only in the *S.H.B.*, some mentioned by Zunz in his *Literaturgeschichte* and some not. He brings their number up to 23, but actually the list contains 28, because No. 6 comprises 2 poems and No. 9 has 5 separate compositions, as seen by the acrostics. I cannot tell what his guiding principle was in selecting only these 28 poems. For, on pp. 7-9, he mentions 15 poems, 8 of which are not included in the list on pp. 71-75 although they are found only in the *S.H.B.* And if we add to these six of the Texts (Nos. VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII) published by himself in the second part and not mentioned in the above

⁵ Here attention may be drawn to a few misprints:

P. 7 note 11 read: "Nahal Eshkol p. 55 Note 17."

P. 8 read: *אלהי האלהים ורב העלילות*.

P. 12 note 16 delete the hyphen and the no. 279.

P. 13. l. 7 read: *Zeit. für Heb. Bib.*

P. 72 No. 9. Instead of (fol. 71) read: (fol. 171).

P. 74 No. 10 read: *כבודו אופני בכס* just as No. 19 reads *כבודו אופני* הוד.

P. 75 No. 18 read: *שיר השירים ידידיה שר* just as No. 22 reads: *שיר השירים אמריה צפה*.

P. 75 No. 21. The beginning is *אלהינו עלינו שוכן* and so it is also given in Zunz p. 673.

P. 122. Instead of *נבקש טל* read: *נבקע טל*.

P. 122. Instead of *ירעפו טל* read: *ירעפו פועל*. This last correction is based on another MS., as will be shown later, and Dr. Schechter's reading cannot really be called a misprint.

lists, the number of piyyutim found only in *S.H.B.*, according to his own testimony, mounts up to 42. But even this is short of the actual number of piyyutim found only in the *S.H.B.*

In order to gain an adequate idea of the importance of the *S.H.B.* for the literature of the Piyyutim, I shall give here a complete list of the poems in *S.H.B.* not hitherto published (including, however, those published by Dr. Schechter) and shall arrange them under four rubrics, giving in each case the fol. of the original MS. followed by the page in Prof. Schechter's copy in brackets. Those published in this dissertation are marked with an asterisk.

A. Poems not mentioned in Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte* and their full text found in Prof. Schechter's copy of the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot* MS.

1. אחד דר שבעה בראתה טרם עולם שבעה-סי' א"ב 160 : [228]
2. אחזו לנו שועלים חכמים טמא וטהור נשאלים-סי' א"ב 158 : [226]
3. אמת אלהינו אמת מלכנו אמת מבטיחנו-161 [229]
4. אקום בתוך עם מרשות מביני טעם-סי' א"ב, חננאל (כפול) בר אמנון חזק 126 : [174]
5. אשנן מפעלות אל-סי' א"א, ב, חננאל ג"ג, ד וכו', 126 [172]
6. אשרי העם שככה לו שה' אלהיו גורלו ונחלתו-129 [177]
7. * את שבת קדשך הנחלתה לעם מקדישך-סי' א'-ר' 48 [96]
8. אתה מאזין עתירה ביטה להושיע מהרה-סי' א"ב 81 : [157]
9. אתחיל מקצת לספר בשבח בורא דוק וחלד-סי' א"ב 124 : [171]
10. השבעתי אתכם יה ענה במלל-סי' יהודה מברותה מחלב עשה חזק 163 [This is taken from the photograph made by Prof. Schechter]
11. * וענוים אהוביך רצים לעובדך-59 : [124]
12. ידבר אל רב עליליות ידועות-סי' יהודה בן מנחם הרב 123 [170]
13. יפה את רעיתי אציליך אשר בחומר הומררו-סי' א"ב (כפול) 164 [From Photograph]
14. יתרום אלי זה ואגוהו בסוד קדושים רבה-187 : [241]
15. * כבודו אופן בכס מרכבות להחיות אטומים-סי' אלעזר בירבי קליר חזק מקרית ספר 150 [220]

16. כבודו אופני הוד רועשים-סי' א'-נר"ן 161 [229]
 17. לבבתי אחותי כלה אשר מצות וצדקות ממולאה-159 [226]
 18. לך אלהים אלפי אלפים אומרים קדוש-סי' א"ב 80: [155]
 19. מלאה חכונת החול תפלות וברכות-סי' מנחם 45: [91]
 20. מסוד אלופים המסובלים במצות המיושרים-סי' אלעזר 140: [213]
 21. מעת נתמנה ציר בינך ובין עם-125: [172]
 22. נרד וכרכום אהליאב ובצלאל הם הנבונים-סי' א"ב 163: [From Photo-graph]
 23. נשכימה אל צורינו שכם אחד לעובדו-סי' א"ב יהודה 165: [From Photo-graph]
 24. שבת בך שר כל יצור עולם-262: [268]
 25. שיר השירים ושיר הישרים-158 [225]
 26. שיר השירים ידידיה שר והושע-סי' יהודה ובידה ויוסה אחיו חזק ואמן
 [From Photograph] 161 אמן
 27. שמאלו חחת לראשי אל בינו וביני אות-158 [225]
 28. שערים לכפילת הפרשיות כתיקון מורי הוריות-83 [159]

B. Poems mentioned only by Zunz and their full text found in Prof. Schechter's copy of the *S.H.B.* MS.

1. אב סגני כהונה ולויה-סי' יצחק בן שמואל זכרו לטוב 72 [145]
 2. אגודת ירח ומרגועים-סי' א"ב 81 [156]
 3. * אהללה ללובש עוז וגדולה-סי' א'-ז' 69 [141]
 4. אורות גדולים שנים אשר בשמים-סי' א"ב 81: [157]
 5. אל עליון הכל מתקן אפדנו-סי' אברהם הקטן חזק 190 [244]
 6. אלהים דבר בקדשו להראות לעם קדושו-סי' א"ב 81 [156]
 7. * אליהו הנביא עד מתי אתה תאחר-סי' ענן הכהן חזק 73: [147]
 8. אמון הייתי אצל איום-סי' א"ב, לאברהם חזק 199 [245]
 9. * אנא אלהינו און שועינו-סי' א"ב 37: [82]
 10. * אני אריב את ריבך יאמר לבת ציון-68: [141]
 11. אצו היום שתי שמחות-סי' א"ב 80 [155]
 12. ארץ הנקראת אבן שתיה-סי' א"ב 73 [147]
 13. ארשה ברוב עם להודות-סי' א"ב (כפול), חננאל 128 [176]
 14. אשוחח לפי מעוט חילי-204: [247]
 15. אשורר לצורי שירה עריבה-סי' א"ב (כפול), משה ברבי בנימין חזק
 בתורה 203: [246]

- * 16. אתא יום ענוה בלחם יומם להתענה-60: [131]
 17. אתה אלה ישועות ביטה בהוגי שעשועות-81: [157]
 18. ויושע ה' אום נדגלה-175: [237]
 * 19. זה אתה אלהי תהלתנו-סי' זכריה חוק 58 [123]
 20. נועם ה' אלהינו עלינו שוכן רום שמים-סי' שמואל בר שלום 72: [146]
 * 21. פקודיך שומרים תמיד להגן-59: [124]
 * 22. פרה באומן אומץ אוסם-סי' א"ב (כמה פעמים) 115: [168]
 23. שיר השירים אמריה צפה-סי' א"ב 157 [224]

C. Poems not mentioned in Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, originally found in the *S.H.B.*, but only cited in Prof. Schechter's copy.

1. אהללך אדון אומרך איום-סי' א"ב (מרבע) 111 [167]
 2. אני ישינה בגולה-סי' א"ב, משה בר משלם חוק 124 [170]
 3. את צורי אברך מאמון ידי בערך-112 [167]
 4. אתה ראית בעיני אבותינו-סי' א"ב 112 [167]
 5. טל תשועה תויל משמי טוהר-סי' תשר"ק 149: [220]

D. Poems mentioned only by Zunz, originally found in the *S.H.B.* but only cited in Prof. Schechter's copy.

1. אביר יעקב משגב מצודת סלעו-סי' א"ב (כפול) 40 [84]
 2. אדון אצלו אמנני באהב שעשועים-סי' א"ב 199 [246]
 3. אהודך ה' אלהינו-סי' א"ב, נתן בר צדקיה הקטן חוק 101: [165]
 4. אותות שקלים מליצים יושר בעדיהם-סי' א"ב 93 [164]
 5. אין עוד אלהים גואל ומושיע-167 [233]
 6. אלהי האלהים ורב העלילות-סי' נתן הקטן חוק 100 [165]
 7. אמזו דלתות תשובתך-סי' א"ב (מרבע), אליה בר שמעיה חוק 40: [84]
 8. אני אל ראשון שמע אחרון וראשון-231 [259]
 9. אסתר ומרדכי לבם נתך-108: [167]
 10. אעורה לזעום אשר בו היום-סי' דוד 38: [83]
 11. אקרא יומם ולילה ולא החרשתי-סי' א"ב, יחיאל בר אברהם חוק 39 [84]
 12. ארבע חיות אשר בם שכניה שרת-199 [245]
 13. אריבה לי את בת ריבי-39: [84]

14. ארכה מארץ מני ים רחבה 249 : [262]
15. אשכולות שדים נכונו לכבודה 123 : [170]
16. את אלהי דרשתי-סי' א"ב (משלש), נתן בן צדקיהו 102 [166]
17. אתה הוא אדיר אדירים-231 : [259]
18. אתה הוא אלהי הראשונים-סי' א"ב, הלל חזק 101 : [166]
19. אתה הוא מבין עתידות-108 [167]
20. וירד אדיר בגדלו בעבור להנחיל דת לקהלו-230 : [259]
21. זכור אמירת פה ושכוח לב-96 : [165]
22. חודש אשר אומן אגן אורות-120 [169]
23. כבודו אהל כהיום על הר סיני-232 [259]
24. מפנינים ומפז יקרה-200 [246]
25. עשר נסיונות נתנסה אברהם-201 [246]
26. ראשון הוא לתהלוך התקופות-120 : [169]
27. תפארת נצח והוד גבורה וגדולה-200 [246]

If Prof. Schechter had copied all the poems, the *Seder Hibbur Berakot* would have given us 83 new texts. As it is we are able to add but 51 new texts and five titles otherwise unrecorded.

I am, therefore, at a loss to account how on the one hand Dr. Schechter failed to list the entire number of 83 poems and on the other hand what reason he had for saying that Zunz recorded about 130 new piyyutim and selihot from the *S.H.B.* (p. 6). Of new piyyutim not mentioned anywhere else I can find only 83.

The credit the author gives me in reference to his list (p. 72, note 74) refers only to the fact that I established for him the certainty that the poems he listed were not published anywhere else.

Another serious error occurs on p. 121-122 where he publishes a new poem by Kalir, the first part of which contains the acrostic *אלעזר בירבי קליר מקריה ספר* and the latter part contains the letters of the Alphabet from ט to נ and the letters *עזר* (which Dr. Schechter did not note). Having misread *נבקש* in place of *נבקעו* and finding the wrong reading

of טל in place of פעול in the MS., he was at a loss to explain the sequence of the acrostic, and made the rather far-fetched suggestion that the beginning of the alphabetic acrostic is to be found in the word אביב in the first line of p. 122.

The solution of this apparent difficulty, however, is entirely different. It must be remembered that the piyyutim known as טל and גשם belong to the type of piyyut known as שבעתא, or heptostrophic poem. One of the characteristics of this type of composition is that it is grouped around a Biblical text so that each of its seven stanzas begins with a part of that Biblical text and is connected with one of the seven benedictions in the Musaph Amidah.

This holds good for a שבעתא composed for a Sabbath, as for example the שבעתא for שקלים, but a שבעתא composed for a holiday sometimes consists only of six stanzas because the middle benediction (קדושת היום) is in itself regarded as a piyyut. In accordance with this structural scheme we should expect the piyyutim טל and גשם to consist of six stanzas each and as a matter of fact they are grouped around verses which contain six words each; טל is grouped around the verse בדעתו חהומות נבקעו ושחקים ירעפו טל (Prov. III, 20) and גשם around the verse אף-ברי יטריח עב יפיץ ענן אורו (Job 37, 11). Unfortunately, however, our printed rituals have preserved only the first two stanzas of each. Recently, however, Professor Elbogen discovered the remaining four stanzas of the טל piyyut (Hebrew Union College Annual III, 215-228) grouped around the four remaining words נבקעו ושחקים ירעפו טל. The piece beginning טל נבקעו (not נבקש טל) on p. 122 is therefore really the conclusion of the poem בדעתו אביעה חידות and the letters ט to ה and the letters עור merely complete the Alphabetic acrostic as well as the acrostic of the author's name which began in that poem.

This leads me to discuss still another characteristic of the piyyutim טל and גשם. If we examine the text of טל as

found in the printed rituals and supplemented by Professor Elbogen (ibid. p. 223) and still further augmented by Dr. Schechter's extract from the *S.H.B.* (p. 121) we find that it consists of the following parts:

- Ia. Part 1 and 2 of the שבעתא with acrostic of א-ה and אל of the name of the Payyetan.
- II. ארשה acrostic א"ב (double).
- III. אאגרה acrostic א"ב (four-fold).
- IV. אלקור בירבי קליר מקריח ספר חשר"ק חחה acrostic.
- V. אלים acrostic א"ב (four-fold).
- VI. חשר"ק acrostic א"א טל חן.
- VII. אלקור בירבי קליר מקריח ספר כבודו אופן acrostic.
- Ib. End of acrostic ט-ת of the alphabet and עור of the name.

Because of the fact that Nos. II to VII interrupt the continuity of No. I and also because there does not seem to be any connection between the first two parts of No. I and the rest, Professor Elbogen came to the conclusion (ibid. p. 221, 222) that Kalir wrote two different types of composition to *Tal* and *Geshem* and that in the usual prayer books these were brought together although they did not belong together. On this point, I am inclined to differ with him. First of all, the antiquity of the *S.H.B.* which contains these compositions in the same order indicates that the interruption of one set of stanzas by another set of poems is not due to the whims of a printer. But aside from this, such interruptions were undoubtedly made intentionally as a peculiar form of construction, as is evident from the construction of מערבות, for all compositions of this class begin with one group of stanzas and are interrupted in the middle by a long poem. The piyyutim גשם and טל in my opinion therefore take on the characteristic of the שבעתא and מערבות.

The author has made other errors which indicate either haste or misunderstanding on his part. His description of

the *Kerobah*, אַחֲחִיל מִקְצֵה לִסְפֵּר (p. 72-74) is quite inexact in several points: For instance, he says that the fifth part (e) is headed מִה מוֹעִיל רָשָׁע בְּעֵלָיו which gives the impression that this was a part of the title of the poem. He failed to notice the word בְּטָעַם preceding these words which gives them quite a different significance as will be pointed out later *ad loc.* The acrostic of this poem is ד, ג, ב, א, and not doubly alphabetical. In the sixth part (f) he fails to state that the acrostic is a double alphabet and that the author's name is given in full.

The fact also that No. 18 on p. 75 is listed by him as שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים יִדְיָה שֶׁר וְהוֹשֵׁעַ instead of שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים יִדְיָה שֶׁר, makes me suspect that he did not fathom fully the construction of this piyyut. For these reasons I think that it would not be out of place if I give the full texts of these two poems, especially since the latter will reveal two new poets not known hitherto and not noticed by the author. This latter *Kerobah* yields two different acrostics. In the first four parts (§ I-V) we find the acrostic יְהוּדָה וְזִבְדָּה וְיוֹסֵף אַחֵי; part V yields the acrostic יְהוּדָה מְבִרְתָּה מְחַלֵּב עֲשֵׂה. The conclusion that one may derive from this is that while in the composition of the first four parts the two brothers Judah Zebidah and Jose collaborated, the fifth part was composed by Judah alone. It is hardly likely that יְהוּדָה מְבִרְתָּה is a third poet, who took part in composing this *Kerobah*. I am inclined to think that מְבִרְתָּה is the family name of these two brothers, and that מְחַלֵּב points to Aleppo as their place of nativity or adoption. The name זִבְדָּה is found in the Talmud, but the name מְבִרְתָּה is unknown to me. In printing these poems I reproduce the text without vowel signs and refrain from commenting on them, because I do not wish to forestall Dr. Schechter's plans of editing them with his commentary.

TEXTS

A). A KEROBAB OF R. HANANEL BEN AMNON
FOR THE GREAT SABBATH⁶

I

אֶתְחִיל מִקְצַת לִסְפֵּר בִּשְׁבַח בּוֹרָא דוֹק וְחֹלֵד וּמִשׁוּבַח
 גּוֹדֵל שְׁמוֹ יִתְרוֹמֵם וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח דְּבַר שְׁלַח בִּיעֲקֵב וּבִישְׂרָאֵל נִשְׁתַּבַּח.
 הַקּוֹסֵר לְמוֹ גִּיד הַנֶּשֶׁה אֶצֶן זָכְרוֹ תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה
 זְרוּיִים בְּהוֹתֶכֶם תַּחַת אֲדוֹנִים קֶשֶׁה חֻקּוֹת חֻקְתִּי הִזְהִירוּ מִלִּנְשָׂה.
 מִבֶּחַ הַשִּׁית פּוֹטִים לַעֲכוּר יַעֲזֵן הַכְּבִידוֹ עוֹל בֶּן בְּכוֹר
 כִּהְגִּיעַ גְּאוּלַּת נְכוּרֵי בִלְתָּךְ וְכוֹר לַעֲנָה רוּוֹ בְּמַכַּת כָּל בְּכוֹר.
 כִּכְתוּב וַיְהִי בַחֲצֵי הַלַּיְלָה וַיִּי הִכָּה כָּל בְּכוֹר בְּאַרְצָן מִצְרַיִם מִבְּכוֹר
 פֶּרְעָה הַיּוֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסְאוֹ עַד בְּכוֹר הַשְּׁבִי אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית הַבּוֹר וְכָל
 בְּכוֹר בַּהֲמָה. וְנִי וְאֶכְרִיָּה לִי בַחֲמֶשֶׁה עָשָׂר כֶּסֶף וְחוֹמֶר שְׁעוּרִים
 וְלִתְּךָ שְׁעוּרִים. || וְנִי זָכְרוֹ תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עֲבָדִי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אוֹתוֹ בַּחוֹרֵב
 עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל הַחֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים. וְנִי דְבַר שְׁלַח יִי בִיעֲקֵב וּנְפֹל
 בִּישְׂרָאֵל. וְנִי וְסִיכַרְתִּי אֶת מִצְרַיִם בִּיד אֲדֹנִים קֶשֶׁה וּמֶלֶךְ עֵז יִמְשַׁל
 בָּם נְאוֹם הָאֲדוֹן יִי צְבָאוֹת.

Ia

יִי צְבָאוֹת יְחוּנָנוּ. פָּנָיו יֶאֱרֵךְ לַחוּנָנִינוּ
 יִסֵּךְ יָמֵינוּ עָלֵינוּ. וּבְצֵל כִּנְפֵי יְגוּנָנִינוּ
 ב' א' יִי מִן אֲבֵרָה

II

אֵתָה גִּיבּוֹר עַד וְנֶאֱמַן אֵתָה לַהֲחִיּוֹת מֵתִים
 מֵעַת הוֹכְשָׁרוּ בְּכוֹשֶׁר אֲסִירִים מִיּוֹם הוֹשִׁבּוּ מֵהִיוֹת אֲסוּרִים
 נִעְנָה לְמוֹ יוֹצֵר הָרִים נִגְדָה סִין קוֹלּוֹ לַהֲרִים.
 סִיגִי לְשִׁלְשָׁה עֵשֶׂר הַפְּרִישָׁם מִצֵּלַע שְׁלֹשָׁה
 עוֹלָה גֵן נְעוֹל בַּהֲגִלְשָׁה עֲדוֹת לְתוֹלְדוֹת אֲבוֹת שְׁלֹשָׁה
 פְּדוּתָם בּוֹכּוֹת אַרְבַּעַת חֵלָה פְּרִיצוֹת וְשִׁנּוּי הַשֵּׁם וְלִשׁוֹן וּרְכִילוֹת
 שְׁעִיכְבוּ מִתַּחֲלָה

⁶ שַׁבַּת הַחֲדָשׁ. Dr. Schechter (p. 72, no. 9) ascribes it erroneously to

צִירוף זכות חולק לילה צִיער פחרוסים בחקמת לילה.
 ככתוב ויקם פרעה לילה הוא וכל עבדיו וכל מצרים ותהי צעקה
 גדולה במצרים כי אין בית אש' אין שם מת. ונ' ויחלק עליהם
 לילה הוא ועבדיו ויכם וירדפם עד חובה אש' משמאל לדמשק.
 ונ' אלהים מושיב יחידים ביתה מוציא אסירים בכושרות אך
 סוררים שכנו צחיחה.

IIa

צחיחה חבואים וכיפים אטומים. ניצוח נפלאותיך קווים לילות וימים
 אמצם צור עולמים. להחיותם בול גשמים.
 ב"א י"י מחיה המתים

III

קול דודי. כך בהעידו. ארבע מאות בברזל רידדי. בכור עוני להחרידי.
 רגז ומעבודה קשה מְשִׁי. ומטיט היון חיפשי. שמע שימעי והרגישי. תחתית
 ההר הגישי.
 שש מאות ושלש עשרה מצות. מפיו מצוות, וערכות בארובות. בפני רבות.
 תוכן אמרותיו בנועם. השמיעני יד ושם בעם. חיוה לציר להגיד לעם. בבוא
 כל ישראל תורה להקרות נגד העם.
 ככתוב בבוא כל ישראל לראות את פני ה' אלהיך במקום אשר יבחר
 תקרא את התורה הזאת נגד כל ישראל באזניהם. ונ' קול דודי
 הנה זה || בא מדלג על ההרים מקפץ* על הגבעות. ונ' ומושב בני
 ישראל אשר ישבו במצרים שלשים שנה וארבע מאות שנה. ימלוך
 י"י לעולם.

[Fol. 172]
 *(Fol. 125b)

IV

ואתה קדוש

מעת ניתמנה ציר בינך ובין עם	פיקודיך אל להשמיעם
סדר לפנינו כל טעם וטעם	היותם שואלים ודורשים בנועם.
הילכות חג בחג והילכות עצרת בעצרת	בעינינו של יום חת לך עמרת
ואנשים ונשים וטפים באדרת	להקהל ולשמוע טעמי דת מהודרת.
אנשים ללמוד ונשים לשמוע	וטפים להכפיל שכר למביאיהם
	בשימוע

ובפסח בל ימנעו משמוע
חמץ א' בער כהגיון יקרה
חמץ היות חפז זכירה
מורד בחרוסת לטבול ולאכול
באר ארבעה עשר לבדוק הכל
חורי הבית האמצעיים בודקין בכל
עליונים ותחתונים בדיקה אינם צריכים
ושכנים שיש ביניהם חרכים
ומבערין מה שמוצאין והשאר מבטלים
כל עיקר אין בודקין גחורי כתלים⁸
וחמץ החבוי שלשה טפחים
והשי שורות במרתף צריך לבדוק נכוחים
שכר שבבבל כיון שבארץ ישראל
בי דנים קטנים נהגו לבדוק ישרי אל
חצר פטורה מפני העורבים
היוחס נוהגים בחיבובים
ללמד לבניהם ולבני בניהם
*בצווי חי וקיים נורא מרום וקדוש

V

בטעם: מה מועיל רשע בעליו
אשן מפעלות אל. אשר עש עמי בהואל. פדותי מנגושי מורדי אל
ארבע מאות כהחצו. למאתים בנחצו. סגולים גוהצו
בעת יציאת כושר. שני עפרים שלח באושר. להוציא אסירים בכושר.

⁷ MS. reads: מבטלין.

⁸ MS. reads: בתלים.

⁹ MS. reads: ביין.

¹⁰ The word אין is supplied on the margin of the Schechter MS. I cannot tell whether it was in the original MS. also on the margin or not.

¹¹ The word בטעם might be a mistake for בוועם, the ו and ו drawn together could easily be mistaken for ט. But even בטעם surely has the same meaning as בניין or בלחן i. e. the following piyyut is to be recited with the same melody as the piyyut רשע בעלוי מה מועיל רשע. If this superscription is not a later addition, but originated with the author, then

ח' יבל נ' וגושים בעשר. נ' בלחם א' רץ הבליע בתהלית עשר.
ל' רחמי דומה כן יאסור באוסר. קדוש.

[Fol. 173] || גודעו אונים בבכיה ויללה. למאד מאד גדלה. בבתי חם בחצי הלילה

גאולים בושרו בעשור. שה לקחת ולאסור. להיכסות בלי מחסור
דיעך צור צרים וליהטם. ובנים צוה בריהוטם. על מצות ומרורים פסח
להלעיטם

הַנִּימוּלִים כִּדְת פֶּסַח לְהַאכִּילָם. וְעֶרְל נִכְר מִלְּהַאכִּילָם. וְהַתּוֹלִים לִידוֹן בְּנִסְפָּה מֵאֲלִיָּה בְּאוֹלָם.

העבירים באומה אחרת

וְנָם אֵלַי זֶה. מָה אַעֲשֶׂה לְזֶקֶן זֶה. הַמְכַחֵשׁנִי אֶהְבֶּת נְעוּרִים מִעַם זֶה.

זכות בני איתנים. שח לו קח אשת זנונים. וילדי זנונים

זמם ועש כנצטוה. והוליד בנים בתאוה. ובת אחת מהוטבה

ח' על שמם הוכיחם. בפקד בלי רחמים ליכחם. וקראם לא עמי להוכיחם

מְהוֹר אומר כבוד כולו. גם לציר לגרש מהיכלו. עזרת צלע כילולו

מען ופץ במענה. כל אוון לא יאונה. למקיים ציווי בצרה עונה

ירא אני להשחית נחלתי. ומלכבות נחלתי. ולא אגרש צימוד מחולתי

כביר השיבו ממרומים. מה לך להלשין בניאומים. ניני שלשת קדומים

בַּנְמָתִי לַךְ לַגֵּרֶשׁ אֶת זֹאת. רִיחַמְתָּה מִלַּגְרָשָׁה מִפְתָּחִי מִזֻּזוֹת. וּבִסְפֶּק אַתָּה

מבניך בזאת

לזרע המשולש בצדק. ובוודי הם בני רודפי צדק. ואיך אחליפם במסוכת

חדק

מקום נמתה לא עמי. לך ובשרם אמרו לאחיכם עמי. וללא רוחמה ריחמתיה

בנועמי

מספרם כחול הים. לא ימד ולא יספר בקיווים. וקבצתים מארבע למקום

מאויים.

we have in it the *terminus a quo* for the time of R. Hananel b. Amnon. For the piyyut משה מוֹעִיל רֶשַׁע בעָלֵי is one of the parts of the *Kerobah* אֵימָה נִוְרָאוֹת by Moses b. Kalonymos (see *אוצר השירה* I, no. 2979) who flourished in the first quarter of the 11th century (see the arguments of Landshuth in *עמודי העבודה* p. 257 that this Moses b. Kalonymos must have lived after R. Gershon who flourished from 960 to 1040). R. Hananel who modelled his piyyut after that of R. Moses b. Kalonymos could not therefore have lived before the middle of the 11th century, and therefore cannot be identified with the Hananel that was martyred in 925 as Dr. Schechter surmises (p. 71 note 75). See, however, note 19 below.

נוחצי פינתי. בחרעלה ארעל. בקובעת חמתי להגעל. כי גדול יום יורעאל
 סבו ישע קודרים. כשומעים כזאת בהידורים. מפי אדיר באדירים
 שמחים הובטחו במילולו. ישראל גוי מייחלו. באם יתמהמה חכה לו
 על כן תיפח רוח המונין. וכל מחשבי חשבון זימנין. קץ הפלאות להכין
 עד פלג עידין ועידין עידנין.

פדויה להשית ועק בגרון. ובעדה חינו להסיר מנה חרון. ונתרצה פני
 ראשון ואחרון

פץ לא ידעתי חפצך. יגדל נא כוחך עלי כדי לרצך. וקוטרנתי תהפך
 סניגוריא וארצך

צרוך התם והקל. וזאת בעיניך נקל. לבם מעוול לסקל
 קדוש משרים דובר. גם לציר המדבר. כזאת נאה לך לדבר
 קרואים הם נחלתי ועמי. אם אייסרם בשבט ובנועי ועמי. לא לנצח אריב
 בעמי

רינון צמד מחוללה. נכמרו מעיך מלחללה. ואיך תאמר לי להחליף סגולה
 שחוקי פלס וזעמו. עמוסים כהונעמו. וכשולי קדירה עומעמו
 שבו לאל מושיעם. וערב לו ערך שועם. והחיש ישעם
 תמיד זאת לנו. מיום דתו הנחילנו. כי מכל צרה הצילנו
 חיבל נוגשים בעשר

VI

ובכן ושמרתם את היום הזה לדורותיכם

אקום בתוך עם. מרשות מביני טעם. ארים בקול נועם. בדיבור מונעם
 אטול רשות צעיר ורב. ולא אתרברב. אמרתי היום יערב. פני צורי כאקרב
 באחי ברוח נמוכה. לבי להמריכה. בניבי מציץ מחרכה. לפתותו כהלכה
 בבוא קץ ישרי אל. להראות פני אל. בחוכם אעמוד בעדת אל. בבוא
 כל ישראל

גשתי היום לבאר. חובת כרת להבאר. גדוליי השקוני ממי באר. ולימדוני
 דעת באר.

גמיעה הגמיעוני בחרת. אשקה מנה עדת המובחרת. גרוני יחשך מדין
 חרחורת. בהזהירי צבור מעונש כרת.

דקדקו סופרים. באמרי שפרים. שאור כזית היות מבארים. וחמץ ככותבת
 בשיעורים

דעת כל בשר. כהגיון חכמי מוסר. דמייבין כל ישראל כמבושר. באור
 ארבעה עשר.

הילכות ביעור באומץ. להשבית שאור וחמץ. ומצותו בזר זית להאמץ.
ולברך על ביעור חמץ

קורו היות זהיר באמירה. מחפש בנר אחר הבערה. כל חמירא. דמשתכח
ברשותי ליבטיל וליהוי כעפרא

גמרו מיום המעונן. בלי להתאונן. ותיקנו רביעית במאכל להתחונן || (Fol. 127a)

ובחמישית לתלות כדתנן
ובתחילת שש לשרוף באש. ומהנאת חמץ להתיאש. והמופקד מוכרין בשש.
לזרים ולא לבני שש

קריזים היות לבערו. מצוים כל בני יעקב גבירו. זך ציוה למשה בחירו.
להזהירם בביעורו

ידיים פורה רוש ולענה. אם יקילו בחמץ תואנה. ודונו בכרת כסוד סין
נתונה. ולא יהיה למו עוד תחינה

חמץ גוי בפקדון. שמירתו תלויה באדון. ומכובש כמוהו ידון. משום לא
יראה ולא ימצא בודון

קווחים ובורות. ושיחין וגם מערות. פטורים מדין בוערות. כהלכות
המבוארות

מזיל הנזכר לבער. קודם שש יבער. משש ולמעלה בפאר. אין לו רשות
לבאר

טועה ובצק בידו. אינו זקוק באיבודו. ואצלו אם הפקידו. יבערו אם
בבית לו ייחדו

יוצא שירא והמפרש. בתוך שלשים זקוק להתפרש. קודם אם יפרש. אינו
חייב להפרש

ימים שבעה ושעות שמונה להועיל. שאור וחמץ אסורין ומותרין להגעיל.
ובקידושי אשה המועיל. לאחר שש אפילו בחיטי קורדנייתא לא יועיל.

כל דברי חמץ אסורין. ואפילו בתערובות מיסר אסורין. כל שחימוצו
בדברים אחרים. כשאר כל האסורין

כותח ושכר וחומץ האמורים. ואפילו בתערובתם אסורין. ולוקים העוברים.
ועל גמור בכרת עכורים.

לישת מצה קלנים. הסכימה דעת דרבונים. וצריכה שני כלים כתיקונים.
בקיטוף בצונין מחמשת המינין.

להסך בתילול מפכים. המדיחין יורות ופכים. ותשמישי נחתום נשפכים.
מחמת שמחמיצין כהגיון ערכים.

מצה הנלושת מגוי חרש שוטה וקטן. אין יוצאין ידי חובתן בליעוטן. || ועבר (Fol. 175)

ושפחה הטבולין מותרין לעשותן בליהוטן

מי שאינן טבילין גזרו להמעטין. לילה הראשון בלבד כחומר זו להלעטין
נמו להגעיל ברותחין. יורות המרותחין. ובורמי דגללי מדיחין. ומאני דקוניא
כפחדא דוחין

נותנין יורה בתוך יורה. ומרתחין אותה בנורא. והגדולה במסגרת להחבירה.
וקערות בכלי שיני להיטהרה.

סכין וכלי ברזל באש טיבולין. קתא ועץ פרור בחמין מגעילין.
שמו שכל ונמו זה וזה ברותחין חיבוטין. כהבליען כך הפליטין.

עורכין שולחן ומקדישין איום. בברכת היין ובקידוש היום. ובמקדש זמנים
חותמין בקידוש היום. וקדושת שבת במגעת קדושתה מקדימין לקידוש היום
עינינו באחד כנודמן. תיקנו לקדש כמוזמן. יין קידוש נר הבדלה זמן.
קבלו הלכה מצור נאמן

פוצים ליטול ידיהם. כל אחד ואחד מהם. ומביאין ירקות שלהם. ומטבלין
בחרוסת כולהם.

פותח ממונה המברך לפניהם. ומברך בורא פרי האדמה ולועטין בפיהם
ציזיו שומרים בקערת עינוגים. ותבשילין שנים ומרור בה ערוגים. ונטל
מנה שתי ככרות עינוגים. ובוצע אחת מהן לשתי סירוגים.

צץ והניח פרוסה בשולחן. ושינית ושלמה בקערה הניחן. ומוכיר לחם עוני
ומניחה בשולחן.

קורא מה נשתנה ושאר הגדה. וחותרם בנאל ישראל גאולת עם להגידה
קדוש מהללים במסיבה במקצת הלל אחר הגדה. ומברכין ברכת היין
ומרווין יחידה.

רגיל כסוד חכמי לוחותים. מזהיר ונטלין עוד ידים. חוזר ומברך בפרוסה
שחים. מוציא ומצה כהלכותים.

ראש כולם בנועם. נוטלין פרוסה ואין טועמין טעם. ומברכין במצה להנעם.
ואין מטבלין בחרוסת ליטעם.

שוקדים לטבול במרור. ולברך על אכילת מרור. זכר קדומים בהמרור.
בטיט ובלבן למרור.

שוב נוטלין פרוסה ומרור. בלא ברכה אוכלין עם מרור. זכר למקדש.
גור. וחיי עד לברור.

תמו הסעודה כל בני הסיבה. גדול שבכולם מברך במסיבה

תפארת עליית זכר יזכור בחיבה. בבונה ירושלים וחותרם בה.

חותמן מזון ומחגין כס שלשי. מזוג כראשונים ישועה לשלשי.

חשובות חייבות בארבעתן כחקוק בפירושי. אף הן היו באותו הנס מפרך
בהגלשי.

נאמנים למוזג ריבוע כוס ישועות. וגומרין הלל באידור שוועות. ונותין שבת
לא ל מושעות אנשים ונשים במסיבה להשעות.

נהגו לחלק קליזת ואגוזים לתינוקות שישאלו. להשהותן בהן כדי שישאלו
נועם הלל כנומרין בזמר. לכולו כבוד אומר. שותין רביעי מלהמר. רביעית
לעקר כמפריכין בחומר

נמנעין עוד מלהומן. ומלטעום כלום באומן. משום אין מפטירין אחר הפסח
אפיקומן

|| אפיקומן פירשו בבביריה. ישישי יפה וברה. אין מפטירין מחבורה לחבורה. (Fol. 128a)
עם זרים להתחברה

אפיית חררה ועשייתה. בבצק עוסקות שלש נשים כהילכתה. וכמשאר
עיסות בלישתה. חייבין ליטול מנה תרומה וחלתה.

להבין משל ומליצה. כשיערו ישישי יפה כתרצה. שיעור טעמם כנמצא.
ארבעים ושלש בצים וחומש ביצה.

לוחמי לחם בהתועדם. ויושבי גזית || בלישכה בהאגדים. דיקדקו ופירשו [Fol. 176]
בדת סודם. בשימור חולו של מועדם.

במועד התירו מוכיחים. להשקות בית השלחים. ובגנות לרוות צמחים.
לב ל יוכמשו היות אלוחים.

רק בשינוי שיקיותן. מה שמשקין באחד לשנים או לשלשה להשקותן. חול
מחול להשנותן. כהילכות סופרים משנתן.

אסרו מלאכה להרבות. ומלכתוב שטרי חובות. וכן תפילין ומוזות
מלהרבות. כי אם כדי פרנסת נפשות האיכות

מחמת המועד התירו עסוק. ושלא לצורך אסור לעסוק. ליקצוץ ולטחון
עבור ליסוק. ומעשיית מלאכה כדי לפסוק.

נדות ויולדת חבים חובות. מכבסין להוטהר מטומאה עם נדבות. ומקבלין
קיבולת דחוקי תלאובות. לעשותה אחר המועד בנדבות

מן חרטי¹² לצימחי רבבה. לספר ולכבס כחוק היוצא והבא. וחוששין להפסד
מרובה. ומצניעין פירות דרך ארובה.

נתנו טעם ישישים. והחמירו על עם קדושים. ועשו סייג בפירושים. בעורף
גלילי תרשישים

קול מחול להשנות ברפש. זכות לקבל בחופש. קדוש יום טוב השוו לנפש.
אך אשר יאכל לכל נפש.

אל נא לעולם תוערין

¹² The ן in the word מחרטי is marked in the MS. with three dots to indicate that it is part of the acrostic.

VII

בתהלוכות שבעל פה חרודות	אֶרְשֶׁה בְּרֹב עַם לַהֲדוּת
איסור והתר שלכל מעודות	אֲבֹאֵר מִקְצַת דָּתוֹת וּתְעוּדוֹת
ואינן ניזונין ואינן נדגים	בִּיבְרֵי חַיִּית וְעוֹפוֹת וְדָגִים
אסורין ביום טוב כחוגים	בְּמִצְוֹת אִם הֵם מִחוּגִים
אסורה בזה ומותרת בזה	גַּם בִּיצֵה הַנּוֹלְדָה בֹּזֵה
איסורו נוהג בזה ובוה	נְוִי הַמֵּבִיא בִּסְפֵק לַהֲתַחוּזָה
תיקנו זקני גזית במחול	דֶּרֶךְ אֲרוּבָה פִּירוֹת לִשְׁחוֹל
ומלאופות מיום טוב לחול	דִּיקְדָּקוֹ שֶׁלֹּא לִצְוֹרֵךְ מִלְּגֻחוֹל
ומתוך התחום מיד מותרים	הָבֵא לֹזֶה מוֹתֵר לְאַחֲרֵים
ולערב בכדי שיעשו אסורים	הַיֹּאֲסֵרוֹ הֵישׁ מִיָּמִינִים בְּמַחוּבְרִים
ורשתות תלושים מערב יום טוב	וְהַשְׁכִּים וּמִצָּא מִצְוֹת מְקוֹלְקָלִים
בקילקולים	
וכמין המוכן דומין במאכלים	וְיֹדָאִי בֹזֵה מֵהֵן נוֹטִלִים
ביום טוב אסור לכבות	זֹהָר נֹר הַדֶּלֶק בְּשִׁלְהֶבֶת
ומלחכתה לשנים עם נדבות	זִיקַת פְּתִילָה מִלְּהֶבֶת בִּלְהִבּוֹת
ממעכין ושורין את הפתילה	קוֹשֵׁב גְּדִילָתָהּ אֲסוּר לִכְתֹּחִילָהּ
בין ביום ובין בלילה	קוֹתְכִין בְּפִי שְׁתֵּים לְהַבְדִּילָהּ
מולגין ומהבהבין ולא טופלים	טַעַם הָרֹאשׁ וְהָרֵגֶל כְּנֹאכָלִים
שמא ירבה בשבילו אוכלים	טַעַמוֹ מִלּוֹמֵן גּוֹי בְּמֹאכָלִים
ועכביות והקינרם מתקנין בישולו	יֵדֶק גִּזּוֹ בְּחִסְפּוֹרֶת שְׁלוֹ
כדי שלא יקדיח תבשילו	יִמְדוֹד נַחְתוֹם תְּבַלִּין בִּישוּלוֹ
על שספק הוא בניחו	כִּי הוֹקְשָׁה מֵאֵד טִיבוּחוֹ
משום גומא וכתישת תיחוהו	כֹּלֵל עֵיקְרוֹ אֲסוּר זִיבוּחוֹ
מותר לאופות ולעשות אוכל	לְבַד לִנְפֹשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֹאכֵל
ממלא קדירו ריבוי האוכל	לְפִי שֶׁהוֹצֵרֶךְ בְּמִיעוּט מִיכֹל
אסור היות מתקין ומכין	מִיּוֹם טוֹב לְחַבֵּירוֹ לְהַכִּין
ימלא כרס ממותר שהכין	מֵאֲכָל בְּעוֹדָף אִם יִתְכִּין
כשנתבלה מערב ראויה לכלבים	נִבְלָה מִחֲתָכִין לִפְנֵי הַכְּלָבִים
ומשום שבות נמנעו אהובים	נִמּוּ בְּקִדְרָה עַז חוֹלְבִים
אבל בגב חברתה משחזין	סִכִּין הַנִּפְגֵּם אֵין מִשְׁחִיזִין
כשמת מדבר או מחזוין	שֶׁהַ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ אֵין מוֹזִיִן
ובכף מאזנים אין משגיחין	עֹרֵךְ מִידָה אֵין מַגְבִּיהִין
ומיום טוב לשבת מניחין	עֵירוּבֵי תְּבִשְׁלִין הֵיּוֹת מִצְלִיחִין

יתן ובחול יחשב עם חֲבִירוֹ	פֶּטֶם הַרְגִּיל לִיתֵן לַחֲבִירוֹ
ושלא במידה יטול עם חֲבִירוֹ	פֶּצַח הַמִּידָה אֲסוּר לַהֲזִכִּירוֹ
לקיים כהוגן מצוות צרופות	צוּרִים חֲזִיקוּ יָדִים רַפּוֹת (Fol. 129a)
לעד למו היות כסופות	צוּרֵם הַחֹזֶק בִּם מִלְּהַתְּרַפּוֹת
ובהר ציון יעלו מושיעים	קָרֵב קֶץ גְּאוֹלַת נוֹשְׁעִים
וינוגעו במכת שחין אבעבועים	קָמִימוֹ הַמְּסִיכִימוֹ רוּחַ עוֹוֵעִים
וכל אוכלימו כקצח הדש	רַחֵם רֵאשִׁית תְּבוּאָת קוֹדֶשׁ
ששים ושמחים במקדש הקודש	רְגִלִּים שֶׁלֹּשׁ יַחְוָנוּ בַּקּוֹדֶשׁ
ובשיכלול היכל קדשך נעלה	שְׁעָרִים הַטְּבוּעִים בֶּאֱרֶץ תַּעֲלָה
ובשילוש פעמים להשתחוות נעלה	שְׂדֵי הַשְּׁמִיעֵנוּ קוֹמוֹ וְנַעֲלָה
ועולות וקורבנות בכל יום	תְּמִידִין כְּסִידְרָן עִם מוֹסְפֵי יוֹם
ונהללך ברוך יי יום יום	תִּזְכִּינוּ לַהֲקָרִיב בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ אִיוֵּם
אל מקום המובחר לעלות	חִיבַת נְדָבוֹת נְגִישׁ וְעוֹלֹת
וכהנים יגישו זבחים ועולות	לְיוֹמֵי יִשְׁרֹו שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלֹת

VIII

סִילּוֹק; וּבִכֵּן וּלְךָ תַּעֲלָה קְדוּשָׁה

אֲשֶׁר־יָהּ עֵם שִׁכְכָה לוֹ. שִׁי' אֱלֹהֵי גוֹרְלוֹ. וְנַחֲלָתוֹ וְסִגְּוֹלָתוֹ וְחַבְּלוֹ. כַּחֲבוּאָה
 קוֹדֶשׁ הִילּוּלוֹ. יִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי מִיִּחְלָה. חֻקִּים וּמִצְוֹת מִנְּחִילוֹ. דֶּרֶךְ הַחַיִּים מִגְּרִילוֹ.
 מִסְתִּירִם תַּחַת צִילוֹ. מֵאֵז וּמִקֶּדֶם מִשְׁכּוֹ אֲצִלּוֹ. מֵרָאשׁ וְעַד סוֹף הַגִּיהִם בְּהִילוֹ.
 מַעַת הוֹקֵם אוֹרְחֵי הוֹכֵר גּוֹדְלוֹ. בֵּן שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים הוֹכֵר מַעֲלָלוֹ. לַמֶּאֱהָ גּוֹעַ נָתַן
 לוֹ. וּמֵאֲהַבְתּוֹ שְׁבוּעָה נִשְׁבַּע לוֹ. לֵאלֹהִים הָיִיתָ לוֹ. וְלוֹרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו בְּגִלְלוֹ.
 וּבַעֲשֶׂר בָּחֲנוּ וְלֹא כִיחַשׁ לוֹ. וּבַעֲשִׁירִית בִּיחִידוֹ נִסְהוּ גּוֹאֲלוֹ. וְעַמֵּד כְּגִיבּוֹר
 לְשׁוֹחֲטוֹ לוֹ. וּבַהֲרַם הוֹבִילוֹ. וְכִשָּׁה עֶקְדוֹ בַּעֲרֶךְ תִּלְוֹלוֹ. וּבִלְבַב אֶחָד
 נִתְּכּוֹנוּ לַמּוֹלֹ. בֵּן לַהֲשַׁחֵט וְאֵב לַשְּׁחוֹט שְׁתִּילּוֹ. וְאֵז נִכְמְרוּ רַחֲמֵי צוּר מַחְוִלָּלוֹ.
 וְהִרְאָהוּ אֵיל לַהֲצִילוֹ. מִשְׁשַׁת יָמִי בִּרְאשִׁית הַמּוֹכֵן לוֹ. וְעוֹלָה תַּחַת בְּנוֹ עִילוֹ. || [Fol. 178]
 וְשֶׁם נִשְׁבַּע בְּשֵׁם הִילּוּלוֹ. כַּחֲקוֹת רוּם זְבוּלוֹ. וְכַמִּינִין כּוֹכְבֵי סִילְסוּלוֹ.
 לַהֲרַבּוֹת גּוֹעֵי שְׁתִּילּוֹ. וְלַהֲדַבֵּיקָם כְּאוֹר מִלְּהַנְתִּיקִי מֵאֲצִלּוֹ.
 וּבִשְׁמֵר תֵּם הַחֲקוֹק בְּכֶם מַעֲוִי. וְקְדוּשֵׁי אֶרֶץ שְׁבִטִי חֲסוּנִי. וּבִצְדָק נִשְׁתַּלֵּשׁ
 חוֹט אִתְּנִי. וְנִחְקִים עֲלֵיהֶם מֵאֵמֶר הַגִּיּוּנִי. וְאֵנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִמְרֵי יי. רוּחִי אֲשֶׁר
 עָלֶיךָ וּדְבָרִי אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְתִי בְּפִי אֲמוּנִי. לֹא יִמּוּשׁ מִפֶּיךָ מִפִּי זֶרַעַךְ וּמִפִּי זֶרַע
 זֶרַעַךְ בְּעִינֵינִי. מַעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם אֲנִי עֹרֵב בְּדַבָּר אִמְרֵי יי. בְּפִירוֹשׁ סִגְּוֹת תַּחֲכַמּוּנִי.
 וְכִשְׁנַחֲהָ רוּחַ הַקּוֹדֶשׁ עַל שְׁלֹשַׁת אֲבוֹת. וְקִיּוּמוֹ מִצְוֹת וְחֻקוֹת רוֹכֵב עֲרֵבוֹת.
 וּדְבָרָיו בְּפִימוֹ הָיוּ עֲרִיבוֹת. כֵּן צוּר כַּעֲרֵב נֶאֱמָן שׁוֹמֵר עִם נְדָבוֹת. בְּעִנִּי

חם ובארץ ולאובות. ולא שינו לשונם ושמות האבות. והוציאם בכוש
במדבר ערבות. וקראם עם סגולה בחיבובות. והנחילם חוקי דתות
החצובות. ועד לא יומם ולא לילה נחצבות. והקדישם והאמירם בפני רבות.
ונשמר גועם וגוע גועם לדורות מרובות. והואמרו בשתי חטיבות.
ועליון נתנם עליון. וקדוש כינם קדושי עליון. ומצוותיו קיבלו בצביון.
וקממו הכשיל ברפיון. ונתנם לכליון. והבוטחים ב"י בהר ציון.
כי מאהבת י"י את זרע האיתנים. ומשומרו את השבועה אשר נשבע
לראשונים. נגלה בהם ורד ממעונים. ובחצי הלילה מחץ פטרי אונים.
והוציאם ברכוש גדול אחר ארבע מאות שנים. והעבירם בתוך גלי שאונים.
וממים המרים המתיק למו רוכב עננים. והאכילם לחם שנאנים. והנחילם
שבת קדשו אדוני האדונים. והגישם להר חמד בנשיונים. ונתן למו חוקים
ומצות טובים ומתוקנים. ודיבר עמם בפנים בפנים. ושם קידשם לשם קדשו
לעין כל המונים. והם העריצו והקדישו לקדוש י"י צבאות אלהי ישראל
בכנף רננים. המעריצים והמקדישים בעלם רינונים. וניצוח ניוונים.
ככ"ת וקרא זה אל זה ואמר

B

A KEROBAB OF R. JUDAH ZEBIDAH AND
HIS BROTHER JOSE

קדושתא דשבתא וחולא דפסחא

I

יִשְׁרָאֵל לְחֹג בּו פְּנֵי צוּרֵי וְבו
אֲשַׁתְּעֶשֶׂה
סֵד הַשִּׁירִים¹³
Song of
Scngs I, 1)

(2) יִשְׁקִינִי¹⁴ מִמַּעֲיִנֵי יֵשַׁע וְבו נְיוֹשֶׁע יֵשַׁע וְנוֹשַׁע כְּמוּ בְנוֹף הוֹשַׁע וְנוֹשַׁע

כֵּן יוֹשִׁיעַ כְּיוֹשַׁע [Ex. 14, 30]

¹³ This poem is so constructed that every verse begins with a verse from the Song of Songs and every other verse ends with the beginning of the verses taken from the following books of the Bible: Ex. XIV 30, 31; XV 1-18 1 Sam. ii, 1-10 Ps. XVIII, 1-51 Ps. CXXXVI, 1-26. In later parts of the poem the arrangement of these verses is somewhat different. The words which form, so to speak, the framework of the poem are printed in smaller type and the letters of the acrostic are given in larger type.

¹⁴ Though the word יִשְׁקִינִי belongs to the quotation from the Song of Songs its first letter must be counted as part of the acrostic.

הַתִּמּוֹר רִיקוּחַ אֲרִיאל	(3) לִרִיחַ	
הַקּוֹלִכְנִי אַחֲרֶיךָ כַּעַל יְדֵי יְקוֹתְיָאֵל	(4) מִשְׁכִּנִּי	
הַדֶּהֱדוּלָה כַּחֲשַׁפְתָּהּ וִירָא יִשְׂרָאֵל [Ex. 14, 31]		
וְאַתְנוּוָה בַּמִּסִּילוּתִי כִּי אִישִׁיר	(5) שְׁחֹרָה אֲנִי	Fol. 161b
וְעִיקוּם צַעֲדִי כִּי אֲכַשִּׁיר		
וְתוֹנוֹנִי בְּאֶיךָ נָשִׁיר	(6) אֵל תִּרְאוּנִי	
וְעָמִי אוֹ יִשִּׁיר [Ex. 15, 1]		

(7) הנידה לי
 דודי ומעוזי
 דרשתיך כי תהיה לי בחפזי
 (8) אם לא
 דירי אתשיר כחוק חזוי
 דורון שורי וכבשי לפניך עזי
 (Ibid. 2)

ככ' וידבר י"י אל משה לאמר שור או כשב או עז
 כי יולד והיה שבעת ימים תחת אמו ומיום השמיני
 והלאה ירצה לקרבן אשה לי"י. ונ' אהללה שם
 אלהי בשיר ואגדלנו בתודה. ונ' השיר יהיה לכם
 כליל התקדש [חג] ושמן נחת [לבב כהלך נך] בחלי נל
 לבנא] בהר י"י אל צור ישראל.

La

(9) ישראל¹⁵ לסוסח¹⁶ הודמה
 וימין בימין רומימה המנגנים יי איש מלחמה (Ibid. 3)
 בר' את' יי מן אברהם

II

(10) נאוו לחייד	זמירות עריבות להרבות	זיו צוארך רצוף אהיבות
(11) תורי זהב	זוג לוחות נחצבו מספיר כס	אשר בערבות
	זרוהם להוריד נצחם כיריית מרכבות ¹⁶	(Ibid. 4)
(12) עד שהמלך	בחר בעם מאומות	בגרונה הפיקה לו רומימות
(Beg. of v. 13 wanting)	בכך לריחו אהיבוהו עלמות	ברעם לקול צינוריו קוראים
		(Ibid. 5) תהומות

¹⁵ The word *ישראל* precedes the quotation from the Song of Songs, because according to the rules of a *Kerobah* the *חתימה* must begin with the word with which the preceding Biblical verse ends.

¹⁶ The MS. reads here also *ההומות* which is an evident error.

יָקוֹד אֵשׁ כִּיפָה בִּמְחַנֵּךְ	יִידַעְתָּה בִּמְחַנֵּךְ	(14) אֶשְׁכַּל הַכְּפֹי
יָהּ הִשְׁמַעַת וְלֶךְ הוֹשִׁיעָה יִמִּינֶךָ	יָפָה רַעֲיָתִי הִנֵּךְ ¹⁷	(15)
(Ibid. 6)	דְּיָדִינוּ אֵלֵינוּ קָרֹב	(16) הִנֵּךְ יָפָה
דְּיָרֹת קָמִינוּ מִלֵּאֲתָה עָרֹב	דְּבִירֵינוּ הֵכֵן וְתוֹעֵצִים גְּדוֹלְתֶךָ לָרֹב	(Beg. of v. 17 wanting)
(Ibid. 7)	דָּעַת רִצְוִיךָ בִּשְׁחִיטַת שׁוֹר וְשֶׁה בְּמִיעוּט וּבְרֵב	
כֹּכ' וְשׁוֹר אֹו שֶׁה אֹוְתוֹ וְאֵת בְּנוֹ לֹא תִשְׁחַטּוּ בְּיוֹם אֶחָד	וְנ' וְתִיטֵב לִי ¹⁸ מִשׁוֹר פֶּר מִקְרִין וּמִפְרִים. וְנ' הַשְּׁבַעֲתִי	
אֲחֲכֶם בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם אִם תִּמְצָאוּ אֶת דּוּדֵי מֵה תִּגִּידוּ	לֹא שְׁחֹלֶת אֶהְבֶּה אֲנִי.	

IIa

קוֹשְׁלָלְתִי רִדִּידִי אֲשֶׁר עָלִי	קוֹטְשֵׁתִי ¹⁸ בְּמִירוֹחַ	(II, 1) אֲנִי
הִיָּה פָרוּחַ		
(Ibid. 8) קָמַחִיה בְּכָרוֹב וּבְרוּחַ	קָעַת לֵהִיּוֹת נִדְכָּאֵי רוּחַ	

III

וְיִיעֲדִי בֵּין רִיחִם נֹמֵר	וְכִקְוֹמַת תִּמֵּר	(2) כְּשׁוֹשָׁנָה
(Ibid. 9) יִפְתִּי קוֹמִי לְכִי אֹמֵר	וְיִיעֲדַת עִם לֹא הוֹאֵמֵר	(Beg. of v. 3 wanting)
	יִשִּׁיבַת סִינִי פִּמְלִייתוֹ כְּהוֹרֵאֲתָהּ	(4) הִבִּיאִנִי
	יָדוּעַ בִּזְקָן דּוֹרֵשׁ מִלְּהַשְׁנִיית דָּתָא	
	יַעֲן רִפְדוֹנִי בְּתַפּוּחִים הֵם דְּבָרוֹת מְנוּיִךְ בְּסוֹף וּבְרוּחַ נִשְׁפָּח	(5) סִמְכֹנִי בְּאִשִּׁישׁוֹת יוֹקֵד שְׁתֵּי אִשׁוֹת יִשִּׁיבַת סִנָּה וְאֵשׁ סִינִי בִּשְׁתִּיהֶן כְּנִרְאָתָהּ
(Ibid. 10)	יִמִּינוּ חִיבִקּוֹנִי לִרְחֵמִי	(6) שְׁמָלוֹ
וְנִצְרָנִי וְשִׁרְנִי מִתְּבוֹסֶסֶת בְּשִׁנִּי	דְּמִי אֹוֹדְמִי	
וְוֹדָאֵי פִצְתָּה מִלְּעוֹרְרוֹ שׁוֹרְרוֹךְ	וְגוֹרְתִי יוֹם קוֹמִי	(Beg. of v. 7 wanting)
(Ibid. 11) מִי כְּמוֹךְ מִי	עֹזִיחַ צוֹעֵק צֶאֱנֵךְ	(8) קוֹל
עֹזֵעִירִים וּפְרָאִים עֵינֵהוּ לְמַעַנְךָ	עֹפְתוֹתָיו שׁוֹשֵׁן לֹאֲבָדֵם תְּפוּצֵץ בְּמַעַנְךָ	(9) דּוֹמָה

¹⁷ On account of the acrostic and the rhyme the author changed somewhat the order of the Biblical quotation.

¹⁸ MS. reads רוֹטְשֵׁתִי but the acrostic requires a word beginning with ה.

- עֲרִיָּהֶם לְבַלֵּעַ כִּיּוֹם נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה יָמִינָךְ (Ibid. 12)
- קִסְתּוֹ עֵבֶר מֵעַתָּה קָעִינִי לְהַעֲבִיר תַּעַן בְּקוֹל אֲתָא (10) עֵנָה
- קִיּוֹם חֶרֶפַת מִצְרַיִם גְּלוּתָהּ קָמַעַל נַחֲוִיִּים נַחֲיָהּ (Ibid. 13) (11) כִּי
- כֹּכ' וַיֹּאמֶר יְיָ אֵל יִהְיֶה הַיּוֹם גְּלוּתִי אֶת חֶרֶפַת
- מִצְרַיִם מַעֲלִיכֶם וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא גִלְגַּל עֵד
- הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.
- יִמְלֹךְ יְיָ

IV

וַאֲתָה קָדוֹשׁ

- אֲתוֹת יְמֵי גְאוּלָּה כִּנְעוֹ אֲנִי הוֹפֵעוּ (12) הַנִּצְנִים
- (14) יִנְתִּי אֲוֹתוֹת וּשְׁפָטִיהֶם עִמָּם (13) הַתְּאֵנָה חֲנֻטָּה וְעִנְפֶיהָ גֹדְעוֹ
- (Ibid. 14) שְׁמַעוּ (15) אַחֲזוּ
- קָדוֹשׁ דְּרוֹשׁ גּוֹזְלִיהַּ מְלוֹעֲזֵי לַעַז קִיִּילֵיהֶם וְאַלּוּפֵיהֶם נִבְחָלוּ אִזְ (Ibid. 15)
- יֶדְךָ תִּנְטָה עַל צִאצְאֵיהֶם תַּחֲתָם וַאֲיַמְתָּךְ תִּפּוֹל עֲלֵיהֶם (16) דוּרִי
- (Ibid. 16) (17) עֵד
- יְדִידֶיךָ בְּהֵרָ נַחֲלַתְךָ תִּבְיָאֻמוּ וְתִטְעֻמוּ וְכִלְלָם תֵּאבֵד מִמֶּךָ
- (Ibid. 17) (III, 1) עַל
- נִקְרָא וְנִיּוּעֵד, וְנֹאמֶר קְוַפַּת זְבוּלוֹ קְרוּא
- (Ibid. 18) (2) אִקּוּמָה
- וַאֲנִישָׁא וְנֹאמֶר לְרַחֵם גְּלַמּוּדָה מֵאַרְבַּע תִּקְבֵּץ נִפְּצוֹת יִהּוּדָה (3) מִצְאוּנִי
- צִרִים אֲוֹתָם מְנִי הַסֶּף וְלִהְבֵּה בֵּית יוֹסֵף
- (4) כִּמְעַט (4) כִּמְעַט
- לֹא תִהְיֶה כְּאִישׁ נִדְהָם עֵנָן יִרְכֵּב בֵּין נֶם
- אֲתִי יַעֲבֹר כִּמְהֵרָה לְגֹאֹל קְרוּאֵי זֶרַע אֲבֵרָהֶם
- בְּהִיגְלוֹתְךָ חַי וְקַיִים || נוֹרָא מְרוֹם וְקָדוֹשׁ

|| Fol. 163a

V

- (5) הַשְּׁבַעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם יְהוָה עֵנָה בְּמַלְלָה יְדִידִים הוֹהֲרוּ אִם תַּעֲוִירוּ
- אֶהְבֵּת כָּלִל אֶהְבֵּת כָּלִל
- (6) מִי זֹאת קְאוּמַרְתָּ הַלֵּל קְתַחֲנָנָה יוֹם וְלִיל וְתַחֲפִלָּה
- (1. Sam. 2, 1) (7) הִנֵּה
- וְיָדַעְתִּי אֲמוּנִי מֵאֲמוּנֵי וְיָדַעְתִּי אֲמוּנִי מֵאֲמוּנֵי
- (8) כָּלִם (8) כָּלִם
- (Ibid. 2) (9) אֲפִרְיֹן
- הוּא אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר בְּמִדְבַּר חוּצָבוֹ
- קָדוֹר מִזֹּחוֹת אֲרַבְעָה וְבוֹ נִצְבּוֹ

- מחצב חוק דתו שבעה נחצבו * עמודיו (10)
- מהם שני טפחים שבו סודם חקור אל תרבו (Ibid. 3)
- ביום חתונה וביום שמחת לב אום מקושת צאינה וראינה (11)
- במתן תורה ובביניין בית המקדש מתקדשת
- רקמה לובשת ובשש נחבשת רועציך אשבור כשבר קשה (IV, 1) הנך
- וחיכך בחידות תלמוד מחתכים ומשמיעים (Ibid. 4)
- וגם זמר נעים בנועם להנעים (2) שנייך
- תלבושת ריעים תוכן צלי ומצה ומרור ליל זה (3) כחוט השני
- שביעי[ם] (Ibid. 5)
- הם לי בשני עולמות עבדיי (4) כמנדל דוד
- וממלכת כהניי
- מיניקיך הם שני בני עמרם סיגני כהניי (5) שני שדייך
- מרים ממי[נה] ומח[נה] יי (Ibid. 6)
- חופתך תובלי ברינה ושיר חדות בכל כלי שיר בשיר (6) עד
- השירים לשיר
- לכן כליל חג יהיה לכם השיר (7) כולך יפה
- לאום יי מוריש ומעשיר (Ibid. 7)
- בחורים עמך וכולם צדיקים באוי ממרחקים (8) אחי מלבנון
- ענה לכלחו דל מעפר מקים ענודה חוקים חקוקים (9) לבבתי
- (Ibid. 8)
- סלה אין מלבדו ואין מבלעדיו עזיחותיך פץ לעדת עידיי (10) מה יפו
- השומר רגלי חסידיו (Ibid. 9)
- הכין לירידיי קשכו מעבירו אוהביו (11) נפת חטופנה
- זרעם להפרות ולהרבות (12) || גן נעול
- כוכביו (13) שליך
- (Ibid. 10)
- קוצצים יבער בשביביו ולבניו יי יחתו מריביו (Ibid. 10)
- אל נא לעולם תוערץ

VI

- אֶהְיָא בְּצִלָּאֵל הֵם הַנְּבוֹנִי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִלְאכַת מִשְׁכַּן לִשְׁבַּח (14) נרד וכרכום
- ולא לננאי
- באר נין מנגן באיבוד שוטניי למנצח לעבד יי (Ps. xviii, 1)
- גלי פזורי ואל תכליאי במחניי (15) מעין גנים
- כורתי בריתי עלי זבח בשחיטת צפון על שולחני (16) עורי צפון
- דירת מתופף בניגוניי ויאמר ארחמך יי (Ibid. 2)
- (V, 1) באחי

- (2) אני ישנה קיייתי ונתעוררתי לקול קורא פתח לי אחתי
(3) פשטתי ויועוטי וסדרתי תחינתי יי סלעי ומצודתי (Ibid. 3)
(4) דודי שלח זקניי וקציניי לפדותי מכף מעניי
(5) קמתי חלתי בתחנוניי מהלל אקרא יי (Ibid. 4)
(6) פתחתי אני טיח דלת תשובה לפני מונעל
וקיבל תשובתי דודי תאלתי להחעל
(7) מצאוני יוקשיי אחווני רחת ורעל אפפוני חבלי מות ונחלי בליעל (Ibid. 5)
(8) השבעתי אתכם כלולי אם תמצאו את חתני מה תגידו לו שח וולת [אה ובה]
אני
(9) מה לעשות כי מוקשיי קידמוני חבלי שאול סבוני [סבבוני read] (Ibid. 6)
(10) דודי צח מכונה הקדוש יי מריח לבושו כקראות הגבר
יפיוחו סמדרי גני
(11) ראשו נמלא טל שוקדו סכות חינוני בצר לי אקרא יי (Ibid. 7)
(12) עיניי סוקרות בכל הארץ כמעט מרעישות וחרדו שמים
וארץ
(13) לחיו עת השמיעו ארוכה מארץ ותנעש ותרעש הארץ (Ibid. 8)
(14) ידיו פתוחות כל לכלכל חובקות אום מקושרת אבקת
רוכל
(15) שוקיו צפיות פו אובסות הולכי רכל
עלה עשן באפו ואש מפיו תאכל [Ibid. 9]
(16) חכו ממחקים קולונתן בסיני שנתו להפרד ומקולו יוצאים גחלי אש וברד
(VI, 1) אנה ריבצך שאלתיו וסע ועבר ולבי חרד
ויט שמים וירד (Ibid. 10)
Fol. 164a (2) || דודי ירד שאול פורה לסעוף שודריי בועם בים לזעוף
(3) אני לדודי תאבתי לתעוף וירכב על כרוב ויעף (Ibid. 11)

VII

- (4) יפה את רעיתי אצילך אשר בחומר הומררו. בליל חג הודדרו
ישת אור צדיקיו במלאכיו וכזוהר הרקיע יזהירו (Ibid. 12)
(5) הסבי ענייך מנוה נגדו עביו עברו (Ibid. 13)
בשכינת צור מלצמצם. המוציאו בעצם

- (Ibid. 14) וירעם וְשָׁמַיִם י9
- (Ibid. 15) וישלח חציו ויפיצם
- (6) סיניך כעדר הרחלים גזל מלעוט כטוהר נקיית שמים. מִחֲתָכוֹת נִסְכֹּת יוֹמִיִּים
- (Ibid. 16) ויראו גושי אפיקים כהובאתי במעמקי מים
- (Ibid. 17) ישלח ממרום יקחני ימשני ממים
- (7) כפלח הרמון דוהר רקתך תואגדי. מבעד לצמתך תצומדי
- (Ibid. 18) יצילני דבב הפגעתיו כי נשאו רדידי
- (Ibid. 19) יקדמוני ביום אידי
- (8) ששים המנה מל נכות] קם ששים מערכות דיקדוקי מחוקקי. דודי עינקי להניקי
- (Ibid. 20) ויוציאני למרחב יפרקי ממציקי
- (Ibid. 21) ימלני ה' כצדקי
- (9) אחת היא יונתי תמתי נועדה בכרמי עין גדי. אשכל הכפר לי דודי
- (Ibid. 22) כי קוא סופר נודי
- (Ibid. 23) כי כל משפטיו לנגדי
- (10) מי זאת הנשקפה זוהרה בגיהוקי. נואמת כוסי וחלקי
- (Ibid. 24) ואהי נמותה בו להרביקי
- (Ibid. 25) וישב יי לי כצדקי
- (11) אל גנת אנון חשתה עבדיך להדרר. בעוך ים פורר
- עם חיליך הלכתה במקהלותרם בם להשחורר
- (Ibid. 26)
- (Ibid. 27) עם נבל [נצ'ל נבר] תחברר
- (12) לא ידעתי מועים אשר באו חדרי. והגלוני מדירי
- (Ibid. 28) || כי מלית חסד תעטם ומאורך תזהירי
- (Ibid. 29) כי אתה תאיר נרי
- (VII, 1) שובי שובי יה ממתקים חכו. קרא לי מסוכו
- (Ibid. 30) כי ייחד עמו וכאומן מדריכו
- (Ibid. 31) האל תמים דרכו
- (2) מה יפו פעמך כמו חלאים נכונות בחיל. מעש ימין עושה חיל

This is an evident dittography from the preceding stanza. I supplied the word *וירעם* because according to the system of the alphabetic acrostic the word after *וירעם* should begin with a *ב*. This, by the way, may indicate that the Turin MS. was not an autograph, and therefore may weaken the argument, brought forth from the inscription at the head of part V of the previous *Kerobah* discussed above in note 11.

- (Ibid. 32) כי כן נקראתה גבור החיל
(Ibid. 33) האל המאורני חיל
- (3) שררך און הסהר לקח טוב לתממה. ממולא כמו ערימה
(Ibid. 34) משה פעמותיי להתמימה
(Ibid. 35) מלמד ידי למלחמה
- (4) שני שדיך מכונות שתי סנהדרותיי. משננות שתי דחותיי
(Ibid. 36) ותתן מולידי בידי אשר חרפו מערכותיי
(Ibid. 37) תרחיב צעדי תחת
- (5) צוארך כמגדל השן נכון ביושר ולא בעיקום. רצוף אהב ריקום
(Ibid. 38) ארדוף נוגשיי בהגלות יום בלב נקום
(Ibid. 39) אפחצם ולא יוכלו קום
- (6) ראשך עליך ככרמל סוים עלה לכרמל מיחית כרמל להטרף. ושחט
עובדי תרף
ותאורני ענב על צר שמך אלהים חיי חרף
(Ibid. 40)
(Ibid. 41) ואויבי תחה לי ערף
- (7) מה יפית ומה נעמח ענה תוכן רוח. לעדת נדכאי רוח
ישועו עמים סמל אשר אין בו רוח
(Ibid. 42)
(Ibid. 43) ואשחקם כעפר על פני רוח
- (8) זאת קומתך פותה סוגלת קהלי. דודי צורי וגואלי
תפלטני פיללתי לפני צורי מלהפילי
(Ibid. 44)
(Ibid. 45) לשמע און ישמעו לי
- (9) אמרתי אעלה ציון בית בחירי. ויבא רועה עדרי
בני צרי בטטאו מדירי אהודינו משירי
(Ibid. 46)
(Ibid. 47) חי יי וברוך צורי
- (10) וחכך כיון הטוב קול משמיע בנעימי. מפיה רוח פיטומי
האל קדוש הנפרע לי משושני
(Ibid. 48)
(Ibid. 49) מפלטי מאויבי אף מקמי
- (11) אני לדודי רוממתיו ואמליכו. סוסו בים בדורכו
על רחוני ארץ בהמליכו
(Ibid. 50)
(Ibid. 51) מגדיל ישועות מלכו
- (12) לכה דודי בית מקדשך להרויחו עשרות בו עם שופך לך שיחו
שדי נקראתה המרעים ארץ בכוחו
(Ibid. Ibid.) ועושה חסד למשיחו

- (13) נשכימה לכו"מים תנוח ניסך באומץ מפעלם תפארת מלוכה להפשיט
מכל מלכי עולם
תעוז גבורות מלכות ממשלם
לדוד ולורעו עד עולם
(Ibid. Ibid.)

VIII

סילוק: ובכן ולך תעלה קדושה

- (13) נשכימה
(Ps. 136, 1) אֵל צורינו שכס אחד לעוברו
הודו ליי כי טוב [כי] לעולם חסדו
(14) הרודאים
(Ibid. 2) בנותנם ריח ענו לישע שוהים
הודו לאלהי האלהים
(VIII, 1) מי
(Ibid. 3) גבורותיך ימלל מללו לענות עם כנים
הודו לאדני האדנים
(2) אנהך
(Ibid. 4) דְּיַבְבָּה עֲדַת עַם מִיַּחְדּוֹ
לעושה נפלאות גדולות לבדו²⁰
(3) סמאלו
(Ibid. 5) דְּהִינָּה וימינו הכינה להרנינה
לעושה השמים בתבונה
(4) השבעתי
(Ibid. 6) וְמָה תַעֲוִרְרוּ קֶץ מִיַּחְדֵּי פַעֲמִים
לרוקע הארץ על המים
(5) מי זאת
(Ibid. 7) זִמְרָה שִׁירִים מְגֻדְלִים
לעושה אורים גדולים
(6) שימני
(Ibid. 8) חֲתִימַת זְרוּעַךְ הַכִּין לְכָל יוֹם וְיוֹם
את השמש לממשלת ביום
(7) מים
(Ibid. 9) טַעֲנַתָּה וקִרְיָתָה עֲלֵייה מִלְּהַחֲדִילָה
את הירח וכוכבים לממשלות בלילה
(8) אחות לנו
(Ibid. 10) יְדוּעָה הִיא בְּעוֹלָם בְּשָׁנֵי מִרְצִים לְקוֹנֵיהֶם
למכה מצרים בבכוריהם
(9) אם
(Ibid. 11) כִּיחֲשָׁנוּ מִחֹל נָא אֲנִי וְאֵת צוּעֵנִים הַחֲשִׁיכִם
ויוצא ישראל מתוכם
(10) אני
(Ibid. 12) לְדוֹדִי הַמוֹצִיאֲנִי מִפִּפְיָהּ
בִּיד חֹזֶקָה וּבִזְרוּעַ נְטוּיָה

²⁰ MS. has here by mistake the verse לעושה השמים בתבונה which is again used in the next stanza.

	מכונים קישרו פאירי זירים	(11) כרם
(Ibid. 13)	לנור ים סוף לגורים	
	נטר קרע ים וחיתכו	(12) כרמי
(Ibid. 14)	והעביר ישראל בחוכו	
	שונאך י"י הקמיל כקנה וסוף	(13) היושבת בנים
(Ibid. 15)	ונער פרעה וחילו בים סוף	
	עלי כמו לשעבר להפיק כמודבר	(14) ברח
(Ibid. 16)	למוליך עמו במדבר	
	פרה סגולים מנודלים בגידולים	(11) דודי
(Ibid. 17)	למכה מלכים גדולים	
	צועד כצבי מדלג על ההרים	(11) ודמה
(Ibid. 18)	ויהרגו מלכים אדירים	
	קידשו קדושך באבדך אשר רדו בי לסערי	(11) לך
(Ibid. 19)	לסיחון מלך האמרי	
	ריעים רימוך ותשמיד צר נוקשן	(11) לצבי
(Ibid. 20)	ולעוג מלך הבשן	
	שודדים יכלה כאשר אמורים כלה	(11) או
(Ibid. 21)	ונתן ארצם לנטלה	
	תמים נדמה המנחיל גיא יסודו	(Fol. 165b) (11) לעופר
(Ibid. 22)	נחלה לישראל עבדו	
	יען כמותן לפני רודף כהלכנו	(11) האיילים
(Ibid. 23)	שבשפלנו זכר לנו	
	קשענתו והבטחתו שמנו סיברנו לנוצרינו	(11) על
(Ibid. 24)	ויפרקנו מצרינו	
	דבירו יגלה כהתירו מיכאל השר	(11) הרי
(Ibid. 25)	נותן לחם לכל בשר	
	היכלו ימלא עד ישירו שרים ושרות שיר הודו	(11) בשמים
(Ibid. 26)	הודו לאל השמים כי לעולם חסדו	

C

|| ואכתוב מן המגילה

Fol. 160

אשכחיה אליהו לפלוני ואמ' ליה בכולהו תנאי פי' כל מאן מהני תנאי,
 על מה נתכונה אסתר שעשתה משתה להמן ואמ' לי בכולהו תנאי פי' בכל
 התנאים ואמוראים שכולהו מודים שלשם שמים נתכוונה זה אומר קנאתו

במלך ובשרים וכול' זה אומ' בכה זה אומר בכה. וכולהו מורו שלם
 שמ' נחכוונה.²¹ והביא אבי סעד יבוא המלך והמן היום אל המשתה
 אשר עשיתי לו. ראשי תיבות שם שלארבע אותיות.²² כלומר יבוא מלכ'ן
 של משתה ויבחין שכוונתי לטובה. וכל זה איננו שוה לי סופי תיבות שם
 של ד' אותיות להפך. מיכאן לקחו חכמים שדייקו שכלפי מעלה אמ'.²⁴
 וחכמים לא רצו לגלות אילו הדיוקים להדיא. ועשו סמך אחר או מזה
 דרשו או מאיננו שוה לי. וגם זה כי כלתה אליו הרעה מאת המלך. מאת
 מלכו של עולם סופי תיבות שם של ד' אותיות.²⁵ אם מורע היהודים מרדכי
 אשר החילות לנפל לפניו לא תוכל לו. וגו'. מהו אם מורע היהודים. הלא
 כבר אמר בעצמו בכל עת אשר אני רואה את מרדכי היהודי. אלא כך
 פירושו אם מורע היהודים אסתר ומרדכי אשר החילות לנפול לפניו לא
 תוכל לו כי מסתמ' זאת העיצה מלבוש וסוס לא יצתה כי אם ממנה.
 ואחשוש וחכמיו לא ידעו שעל מי²⁶ ספר הזכרונות נעשה. ואבי היה
 מוכיח מן הניקוד שכך הוא. ש'אם מורע היהודים' אינו מנוקד שעל מרדכי
 שלפניו קאי. אלא פסק בכאן. ומרדכי קאי לפנים. אין אסתר מגדת
 מולדתה ואת עמה כאשר צוה עליה וגו'. אבי היה מבקש לפי הפשט
 למה מרדכי יושב בשער המלך. אחר שהמן עלה והוא ירד עדיין יושב
 בשער מאי עיבדיה פ' שמרדכי היה יושב ומצפה אל יד השער מתי יבוא
 שעה ויגוב את אסתר ויוליך אותה למקום אחרת.²⁷ ואחשוש לא ישים
 על לב שהיא יהודית. אבל אם היתה מגדת את עמה ואת מולדתה לא היה
 חקנה שאם היה מרדכי גונבה היה תופש כל היהודים. עד שהיה מחזירה.
 כך הגיד לי ר' יצחק מרוסיא משם אבי. ועשרת אלפים כבר
 כסף. למה לא פחות ולא יתר. ואמ' אבי המן היה בקי בתורת משה
 סחם חשבון של ישראל ס' ריבוא אע"פ שנהרגו בשעת חרבן אינן יכולין
 להיות פחות כמו שיסדר ר' אלעזר בן קליר: „בל ימעטו מששים ריבוא

²¹ Comp. *Megillah* 15b.

²² This symbolic use of the first letters of Esther V, 4b is cited in פ' ספר פרפראות (Frankfurt a. M. 1891, p. 26) from the יוסף נחמאש לחכמה, a book whose authorship is uncertain, though sometimes ascribed to R. Jacob b. Asher (See, *ibid.* note 5).

²³ So in MS. but read מלכו.

²⁴ Comp. iii, 174a והו' וזה. "ואחפך לון שם יהוה, הוה'י ואוליפנא מהמן הרשע; וכל וזה לי".

²⁵ This symbolic use of the last letters of a passage in Esther vii, 7 is also found in Nachmias' commentary *ad loc.* (p. 29).

²⁶ So in MS. but read פי.

²⁷ So in MS. but read אחר.

מנוקדים.²⁸ וחשב במדבר היו ס' ריבוא מבין עשרים שנה ומעלה כמה היה ערכו אם היו נודדין ערך עצמן עשרת אלפים כבר וזה איני²⁹ נהגון כפי שזה ערך שלהם יצא וחשוב רבי שלמה פי' באלה פקודי³⁰ מנה של קודש כפול היה הרי כבר של קודש ק"כ מנים והמנה כ"ה סלעים והסלע והשקל שבתורה הכל אחד כמ' התרגום שקל סילעא. חמצא בכבר שלשת אלפים שקלים. כך פי' רבי שלמה. וערך מבין עשרים עד בן ס' נ' שקלים נמצא לס' בני אדם ל' מאות שקלים דהיינו ג' אלפים שקלים והוא כבר. נמצא לריבוא ס' ריבוא כבר דהיינו עשרת אלפים כבר כסף. זה הגיד ר' נתן ביר' משה מכנכר.³¹ סליק.

D

Contents of the *Seder Ḥibbur Berakot* as found in the MS.
copy of Prof. Solomon Schechter.

- | | |
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| . | ויש שנוהגין לומר תחינות אלו |
| 2 | תחינה אחרת קודם מאה ברכות |
| 4 | וחזור לענין מאה ברכות |
| 6 | וחזור לענין תפלתו |
| 9 | זה ערך משפטי התפילה |
| 14 | זה ערך משפטי קריית שמע |
| 16 | זה ערך מנהג שליח צבור |
| 17 | חו תפלת יוצר |
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| 50 | זה סדר של כל דבר אוכל ופרי |
| 64 | חו היא ברכת מוון כתיקונה |
| 70 | זה ערך ברכת שאר דברים |
| 73 | זמן המנחה בחול |
| . | תפלת מעריב |
| 79 | מנהגי שני וחמישי |

²⁸ This quotation is from the *Kerobah* for שקלים beg. אז מאז זמנו.

²⁹ So in MS. but read אני.

³⁰ Comp. Rashi to Ex. 38, 24.

³¹ This place I am unable to identify.

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FISCUS JUDAICUS

By MICHAEL S. GINSEBURG, Paris

THE political system established in Rome by Augustus and generally known by the name of dyarchy,¹ is manifested in the division of the public exchequer into two independent financial administrations.² It is difficult to fix exactly the time when, beside the ancient *aerarium populi Romani*, a new institution, the special treasury of the Princeps, appeared. It is certain that the creator of the new system, which divided the competency between the senate and the "first citizen" of the republic, did not found a new treasury, with the intention to give it a share in public revenues; this event happened at a later period.³ At the very beginning of the first century C. E. the term "fiscus"⁴ becomes familiar⁵ for the specification of the Royal Exchequer. But this expression, apart from cases where it marks this treasury in opposition

¹ Mommsen, *Roman public Law*, French translation, v. V, p. 5.

² Girard, *Manuel élémentaire de droit romain*, p. 49.

³ Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, v. I (Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian), 1877, p. 2.—According to G. Humbert, "Fiscus," in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. d. antiq. gr. et rom.*, II² p. 1142 the fiscus was created in 27 B. C.—consequently at the epoch, when the provinces had been divided between the senate and the princeps; this hypothesis is not, however, corroborated by any text.

⁴ For the primary meaning of the word see Mommsen, *Roman Public Law*, v. V, p. 291, n. 1.

⁵ At the time of Claudius; see Rostowzeff, Pauly-Wissowa, VI, "Fiscus," p. 2385, Pliny N. H. XII, 54 (ed. Lemaire) is familiar with the term. Augustus makes use of it, but not for the specification of the centralized financial administration. The term became definitively official during the reign of Hadrian (Rostowzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 2386).

to the "aerarium senatus"⁶ (the senate appears as the representative of the Roman people), has a secondary significance. It defines the many boards of revenues from different sources; these boards were at the Princeps's disposal. Beside the *fiscus* (sc. *Caesaris*),⁷ appear different other *fisci*, and one may believe that all these separate *fisci* constituted together the imperial *fiscus*.⁸ The following *fisci* are mentioned in the sources: *fiscus Gallicus*, *fiscus libertatis et peculiorum*, *fiscus castrensis*, *fiscus frumentarius*, *fiscus Alexandrinus*, *fiscus Asiaticus* and *fiscus Judaicus*. In this article we shall attempt to give a short account of the origins and of the history of the *fiscus Judaicus*.

The system of taxes—poll and property taxes—which formed the fundament of Rome's financial structure during the Empire, as distinct from the Republican Era, was indeed the awful wound, that during many centuries corroded the body politic and at last caused its ruin. All the numerous passages concerning the tax problems we find in the sources of Roman Law⁹ support the theory of their daily increasing

⁶ The *fiscus* (the emperor's Exchequer) in opposition to the *aerarium* (the people's Exchequer)—Dio Cassius LIII, 16. 22; Tacitus *Annales* II, 47; VI, 2; Spartian *Hadr.* 7. According to Mommsen (*Roman Public Law*, V, p. 291) the *fiscus* represents the princeps' private property (Ulp. *Fragm.* 2, 4: *Res fiscales quasi privatae et propriae principis sunt*. Jd.—D. XLIII 8. 2.4). But the princeps' property formed *de facto* (and since the reign of Septimius Severus *de jure*) a separated fortune—*res privatae Caesaris*, *Augusti ratio* (D. XLIX 14. 6 in f.). One may compare the royal *fiscus* with Crown-domains in a modern state.

⁷ It results from Suet. *Aug.* 101, that this term has been used at first exclusively in this sense: *fisci* = the boards of the royal provinces.

⁸ Rostowzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 2385: "Alle diese Kassen zusammenfassend redet man aber schon in ziemlich früher Zeit von *einem* kaiserlichen *Fiscus*."

⁹ In the first place is to be mentioned D. L. 4 (*de muneribus et honoribus*); 5 (*de vacatione et excusatione munerum*); 6 (*de iure immunitatis*). The jurist Arcadius Charisius was the author of a special treatise—*liber singularis de muneribus civilibus* (D. L. 4. 18). Cf. C. Th. VI. 35; VII, 20; VIII, 4 etc. C. Just. X, 4 sqq. Cf. Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.*, I p. 603 sqq. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverfassung*, I p. 137 sqq. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, p. 418 sqq.

importance. At first sight the rates afforded considerable benefits to the Government but they threatened with deadly peril the prosperity of the population of the large Empire. It is a fact that the attempts to escape these oppressive rates became more frequent daily and evoked severe measures against the delinquents.¹⁰ The condition of the Jewish population of the Empire was doubly severe. Since the beginnings of the Diaspora the Jews had been made subject to every taxation like the other population.¹¹ In time their condition became much more difficult. The more the relations between Rome and Judea deteriorated, the heavier became the burden of the taxes imposed on the Jews. The Roman Government invested the Jews, who were losing by degrees their political independence of former days, with important rights.¹² On the other hand, the Jews obtained a series of questionable privileges—above all in the form of special taxes. These "Jewish" taxes were of a two-fold character: some of them had a local character, the others were general. The local taxes imposed on Jews in some districts, were not paid by the rest of the Jews dispersed over the immense territories of the Roman Empire. As an example of these taxes may be mentioned the tax which had been established in the Holy Land in the middle of the first century B. C. The alliance between the two unequal countries—Rome and Judea—was short-lived. Rome considered the internal disturbances in the Hasmonaean dynasty which provoked the civil wars in Judea as a very opportune moment for intervention.¹³ The victor tried to turn this military expedition to

¹⁰ Different punishments: D. L. 1. 15 § 2. C. I. IV, 44. 17; X, 39.5.

¹¹ For the later period it is attested by a constitution of M. Aurelius and Commodus—D. XXVII, 1. 15 § 6.

¹² Reinach, "Judaei" in Daremberg-Saglio, v. III¹ p. 623. Juster *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, v. I ch. I ("Privilèges").

¹³ Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, v. I ("The background of Jewish history") p. 9 wrongly assert, that Rome inter-

the greatest advantage; one of the consequences of Pompey's victory was the imposition of a tax on the inhabitants of Palestine.¹⁴ When Rome after Archelaus' exile sent a Governor to Judea and put an end to the supremacy of her former ally, the fiscal policy became quite ruthless. A census was organized for fiscal purposes; all the Jews registered in rolls were liable to an annual tax—the *tributum capitis*¹⁴, many other duties were added (ground rents, taxes for flocks, statute, labor).¹⁵

This financial policy, which together with the Governors' rapacious activity, brought about the economic decay of the country, became one of the principal causes of the riot, which broke out in 66 C. E.¹⁶ The revolt of the Palestinian Jews, which was ended by the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, had an unexpected effect on the whole Jewry. The tax¹⁷ which since their return from captivity was paid by every Jew from his twentieth year on¹⁸ for the purpose of the Temple at Jerusalem,¹⁹ was converted henceforth into a tax in favor of Jupiter Capitolinus.²⁰

ferred unwillingly with the affairs of Judea. Contra E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, v. I, p. 294.

¹⁴ L. Goldschmidt, "Les impôts et droits de douane en Judée sous les Romains," in the *Revue des Et. juives*, v. 34 (1897), p. 192 sqq. Flav. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* I, 7. 6: τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

^{14a} The *tributum capitis* is the tax paid by the subjects—a sign of servitude (Ch. Lecrivain, *Daremborg-Saglio*, V, p. 433).

¹⁵ Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁶ *Jos. Bell. Iud.* II, 16.4.

¹⁷ It had already existed at the time of Nehemiah and formed one-third of a shekel (*Nehem.* X, 32). It is impossible to fix the moment when it was increased to half a shekel. *Exod.* XXX, 13 seems to be an interpolation of a later period. The tax was collected in every community and sent to Jerusalem. *Shekalim* II, 1—cf. *Ev. Matth.* XVII, 23. Mommsen (at Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 14 n. 2) asserts without proof, that the tax was created by Moses.

¹⁸ *Exod.* XXX, 14.

¹⁹ Schürer, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 258 sqq.

²⁰ *Jos. Bell. Iud.* VII, 6.6: φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὀπουδηποτοῦν οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλεν δύο δραχμὰς ἑκάστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ

This tax maintained its general character: it was paid annually by the Jews in all parts of the Roman Empire for the right to practice their religion. The imposition of the tax on the Jews out of Palestine may be explained by the assistance they afforded to the Jewish insurgents in Palestine.²¹ The rents of this tax came to a special board which was designated *fiscus Judaicus*.²²

The character of the Emperor Vespasian with its essential mark—parsimony turning to avarice²³—was made manifest in this institution. The Roman practical spirit prevented him from utilizing his victory fully. After the terrible defeat of Judea, Rome did not abrogate the privileges bestowed upon the Jews since the time of Julius Caesar; by their abro-

Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν.—Dio Cass. LXVI. 7: Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου (since the capture of Jerusalem) δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Δὲ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν.

²¹ Dio Cass. LXVI, 4; this assistance seems to have been insignificant—otherwise Josephus would have mentioned it.

²² Juster, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284 n. 4 and pass. erroneously makes use of the term "*fiscus Judaicus*" for the designation of the tax itself, whilst it defines the board and the administration of the tax; cf. Suet. Domit. 12.2: *Judaicus fiscus, ad quem deferebantur qui vel improfessi etc.* The explanation of this term given by the dictionaries (Quicherat et Daveluy, p. 551; Georges, p. 2575) is wrong; the sense of a "tax," which is ascribed to the term with reference to Suet. *loc. cit.*, is disproved just by this text. The tax itself is called in the sources "*δίδραχμον*"—Dio Cass. LXVI, 7.2; Orig. Epist. ad Afric. § 14—see below n. 46.—Cf. Rostowzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 2403 sqq; who never makes use of the term "*f. J.*" for the designation of the tax.—Ch. Lecrivain (see n. 14a) is wrong saying that "*les Juifs paient la capitation spéciale du f. I.*"; this tax does not correspond to the *tributum capitis*, which the Jews of Palestine continued to pay. Huschke, *Ueber den Census und die Steuerfassung der früheren römischen Kaiserzeit*, Beilage: *Ueber das δίδραχμον der Juden bei Matth. 17, 24-27*, p. 208: "Von den Neueren ist sie (i. e. the Temple tax, converted into a tax in favor of Jupiter Capitolinus) häufig mit dem neben ihr hergehenden *tributum capitis*, welches die Juden ebenso wie andere Unterthanen des römischen Reichs zahlten, verwechselt worden."

²³ The authors characterize him as "*natura cupidissimum*" (Suet. Vesp. 16). The same author gives us a striking example of his love for money—Vesp. 4. Tacitus Hist. II, 5 says: "*prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par.*"

gation the conqueror would properly speaking have put an end to Judaism—for the result of this reform would have been the total assimilation of the Jews. Vespasian, looking for new sources of revenue, preferred to conserve these privileges and derived advantages for his treasury from them.

This tax was doubly odious to the Jews: it hurt their religious feelings. Being in actuality the price for the practice of their national faith,²⁴ this tax was destined to go to the principal sanctuary of the hated foe. It is true that the money paid by the Jewish tax-payers, flowed, like the majority of the taxes paid by the subjects of the Empire, to the Emperor's treasury.²⁵ When introducing this tax Vespasian does not seem to have had the project of creating a special duty for a religious purpose; by turning the Jewish Temple tax into a tax in favor of Jupiter Capitolinus he had probably nothing in view but the severe humiliation of the Jews.

It appears natural to draw a comparison between the *Fiscus Judaicus* and two other financial institutions which are mentioned for the first time at the same epoch: the *Fiscus Alexandrinus*²⁶ and the *Fiscus Asiaticus*.²⁷ As to the inhabitants of Alexandria, we know that Vespasian imposed a tax on

²⁴ Dio Cass. LXVI, 7.2.

²⁵ The emperor was Jupiter's representative on earth—Mommson, *Roman History*, French transl., XI, p. 135.

²⁶ There is a considerable divergence of views concerning the nature of this institution. The opinion of Ruggiero (*Bulletino dell Istituto di dir. romano*, 1888, 1 sqq.) approved by Rostowzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 2403, seems to be the most likely one: to the *f. Alexandrinus* flowed the taxes which were imposed on the Alexandrians by Vespasian (Dio Cass. LXVI, 8.5). Mommsen (see Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 14 n. 2) thinks that the tax was paid by the whole population of Egypt except the Alexandrians (but how may be explained in this case the designation of the board?) For the opinions of Wilcken and other authors see Rostowzeff, *op. et loc. cit.*

²⁷ Conforming to Mommsen's view (see Hirschfeld, the preceding note) it is the board, to which flowed the taxes paid by the inhabitants of Asia. Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die Kais. Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2, ed. 1905, p. 71: the board was in Rome.

them.²⁸ An analogous tax was paid by the population of Asia; they did not form, in opposition to the Alexandrians and especially to the Jews, any single ethnological group, but still they were characterized by the general name of "Asiani." The members of these three groups being dispersed over the whole territory of the Empire, the Government resolved to centralize the administration of these taxes in Rome; in this manner we may understand the creation of the aforesaid three boards of revenue at the capital.²⁹

A special functionary was appointed chief of the Jewish didrachmon's administration—the "procurator ad capitularia Iudaeorum;"³⁰ a numerous council helped him.³¹ The *fiscus Judaicus* seems to have had no special tax-collectors in the different towns and provinces. The money for the *fiscus Judaicus* was probably exacted by the ordinary tax-collectors;³² it is impossible to trace in the sources the permanence of the *δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες*.³³

²⁸ Dio Cass. see n. 26.

²⁹ In opposition to the *f. Gallicus provinciae Lugdunensis* (CIL VI, 5197), at the time of Tiberius, which was not a Roman board, but formed a division of the board of the province Gallia.—Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 14 attests the resemblance of the 3 *fisci*—*Iudaicus*, *Alexandrinus* and *Asiaticus*.

³⁰ CIL VI, 8604 (= Orelli Inscr. Lat. 3345): T. Flavio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Euschemoni qui fuit ab epistulis item procurator ad capitularia Iudaeorum fecit Flavia Aphrodisia patrono et coniugi bene merenti. The capitularia Iudaeorum are perhaps the rolls of the *fiscus Iudaicus*.

³¹ Suet. Domit. 12.2—see n. 38.

³² Juster, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 283 n. 4.

³³ Matth. XVII 24; Huschke, *op. cit.*, p. 205 sqq. demonstrates that it concerns the tax for the purpose of the Temple at Jerusalem, but not the capitation tax. These collectors were not sent from Jerusalem to the different towns of the Diaspora; the communities collected the tax themselves and sent the money to Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. XVIII, 9.1). Only in the period subsequent to the year 70 the patriarch sent his representatives—*apostoli*—to inspect the Jewish communities and to collect the tax for the patriarch—Juster, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 389. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, v. II, p. 26 removes—without any argument—the institution of the "apostoli" to the epoch B. C.; Eusebius, Comm. in Iesaiam 18.2 does not prove this assertion.

Vespasian's son Domitian whose reign forms one of the worst chapters of the history of the Jews under Roman Government,³⁴ made use of every expedient to increase the revenues of the *fiscus Judaicus* and was never deterred from any mode of acting to do away with financial difficulties³⁵ he met.³⁶ According to the idea of Vespasian only the Jews practising their religion were liable to this duty;³⁷ Domitian made all Jews, without exception, subject to the taxation; even the Jews who dissimulated their blood, were forced from his time on to pay the tax. The system of denunciations, favored by the Emperor, expanded largely. Old age did not acquit a Jew from his liability to the tax; every one, young or old, suspected as a Jew ran the risk of being arrested and brought to the "procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum," who subjected him to a humiliating trial in the presence of his council.³⁸

It is difficult to fix definitely who were the ratepayers. Indeed we read in a passage of Josephus given above³⁹ that

³⁴ Vogelstein und Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, v. I, p. 26 sqq.

³⁵ Domitian shook vehemently by his useless expenditures the finances which were put in order by his predecessors. Cf. Weynand, "Flavii," Pauly-Wissowa, v. VI, p. 2589.

³⁶ Suet. Domit. 12; Tacit. Agricola 43.

³⁷ Dio Cass. LXVI, 7.2.

³⁸ Suet. Domit. 12.2: "Praeter ceteros Iudaicus *fiscus* acerbissime actus est (i. e. was administrated); ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Iudaicum viverant vitam, vel, dissimulata origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adulescentulum nonagenarius senex, an circumsecutus esset." Consequently the men, who broke with Judaism, used to submit to an operation in order to dissimulate their origin, this operation—*ἐπισπασμός*—had become usual since the time of the Maccabees—cf. I Macc. 1, 16; Ios. Ant. XII, 5.1; it is likewise mentioned in the Talmud (Yebamoth 8, 1. Sabbath 19,2). Cf. Lübker, "Der jüdische *ἐπισπασμός*" (in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1835, p. 657-674) and Juster, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 284 n. 4. Another expedient for disguising the Jewish origin was the aluta and fibula—Martial *Epigr.* VII, 35, 82. Cf. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 288 n. 1.

³⁹ Cf. n. 20.

according to an order of Vespasian, the Jews had to pay the tax on behalf of Jupiter just as they had to before in favor of their Temple. But the conclusion that both groups of the ratepayers coincided entirely, does not seem to be a necessary consequence of this order. Besides Josephus' testimony, we possess an account of Suetonius⁴⁰ telling that the Jewish people—gens—was declared to be subject to taxation. Likewise, Dio Cassius⁴¹ relates that the tax had to be paid by those who practised the religious rites. These testimonies corroborate the assertion that women also were liable to the didrachmon, especially if we bear in mind that even for the Temple-tax the practice had not been fixed decisively.⁴²⁻⁴³

⁴⁰ Cf. n. 38.

⁴¹ Cf. n. 20.

⁴² It is necessary to note that at the beginning of the Roman Empire women were liable to taxation: Schürer, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 513: "Die Abgaben waren in der frühen Kaiserzeit noch sehr mannigfacher Art. Die Kopfsteuer hatten auch die Frauen zu entrichten." Cf. D. L. 15.3 pr. (Syria); C. Th. XIII, 4.4 (Africa) cf. App. Libyc 135.

⁴³ The 'Ιουδαϊκὸν (or 'Ιουδαίων) τέλεσμα, introduced in Egypt by the Roman Government (Vespasian)—Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomatie der Papyrskunde*, v. I, p. 187—seems to be identical with the tax for the fiscus Iudaicus. Mitteis and Wilcken, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 85—a fragment of the Rate-Book of the amphodarchos at 'Απολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς (Faijum) from 72-73 A. D., published primarily by C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrskunde*, v. I. It contains the ἀπαιτήσιμον—the list of the 'Ιουδαϊκὸν τέλεσμα—for that year; according to l. 205 the tax amounted to 8 drachmai 20 oboloi per head and was paid—by men as well as by women—between the ages of 3 and 60 years. As 8 drachmai 20 oboloi of the Egyptian currency approximately correspond to 2 Attic drachmai, Wessely asserts that this tax is identical with the old $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel—tax and the new δίδραχμον—tax; cf. Wessely, "Die Epikrisis und das 'Ιουδαίων τέλεσμα unter Vespasian" (in the *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrskunde*, I, 1901, p. 9-11). Schürer, *op. cit.*, v. III, p. 117 objects to this hypothesis, but his assertion that the δίδραχμον was paid only by men (v. II, p. 315) is not confirmed, and the explanation of Wessely seems to be right; otherwise we must admit that the Egyptian Jews had to pay besides the δίδραχμον for Jupiter Capitolinus a second δίδραχμον-tax. The imposition of the 'Ιουδαίων τέλεσμα on women is moreover proved by the Ostraka from the Collection of H. Junker, published by Wessely,

Nerva put an end to the vexations which became ordinary under the reign of his predecessor; all the abuses were abolished. This innovation was mentioned on the coins of his era.⁴⁴

It is possible to confirm the didrachmon's existence during the II⁴⁵ and III⁴⁶ centuries. The last mention of it belongs to that time. We do not know the moment of its definite abrogation. But the hypothesis forces itself upon the mind that the great friend of the Jews among the Roman sovereigns, Julian Apostata, abolished the tax, which hurt the Jews from the moral as well as from the material point of view. In his well-known letter to the Jews⁴⁷ he says:

"In the past your liability to new taxes and the constraint to give to the treasury numberless quantities of gold made the yoke of servitude especially oppressive. With my own eyes I have seen a part of this misery; a larger one I have perceived by finding the rolls kept to be used against you. I have reduced these rolls to ashes."

Anzeigen d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. kl. Wien, 1900, N. 18 (viz. ostr. N. 5); cf. Mitteis and Wilcken, *op. cit.*, v. I¹, p. 198; v. I², p. 345. Rostowzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 2404 and Weynand, *ibid.*, p. 2686, Wilcken (*Archiv f. Papyrusforsch.*, I, p. 900, p. 136) believes that women had to pay the capitation in Egypt; contra F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Catalogue with texts*, v. II, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 199: "Fisci iudaici calumnia sublata." The tax itself was not abolished, for it is mentioned in later sources—cf. the following notes.

⁴⁵ The testimony of Appian from Alexandria (at the time of Hadrian and the Antonines).

⁴⁶ Origen. Ep. ad Africanum (de Historia Susannae) § 14: "Καὶ νῦν γοῦν Ῥωμαίων βασιλευόντων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς τελούντων." According to Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, v. II, p. 47 n. 5, the letter was written in 236.

⁴⁷ Juliani Epist. N. 25 (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 206 sqq.). The authenticity of this letter is contested—cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, v. III, p. 77 n. 74; Fr. Cumont, *Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julien*, considers it as authentic for its tenor—cf. Reinach, *Textes*, p. 209 n. 1.

As no author at a later period mentions the Jewish tax it seems probably that the rate-rolls for the collecting of the didrachmon were destroyed by Julian's orders, and that the Jews owe to him the abolition of the tax which during three centuries pressed heavily upon them.

SURVEY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

IV. ARCHAEOLOGY

IN THE present state of Biblical research it would be nothing short of a truism to refer to the fundamental importance of biblical archaeology and its indispensability to biblical studies, as it is well known that this scientific discipline intrudes itself continually into every biblical subject under investigation, be it religious beliefs, exegesis or history, and no conclusions are recognised as final, without being confirmed by archaeological evidence. However, it would be not quite correct to claim it as a modern method. It is as ancient as the Pentateuch, and the prehistory of Israel may on the whole correctly be defined as biblical archaeology. If the biblical author prefaced his work with archaeological materials, it is proper that those who deal with biblical subjects should pursue the same method. But while this method is generally used, there is a great divergence of opinions with regard to the evidence given by the archaeological facts for the truth of the biblical traditions. We very seldom find the archaeological facts investigated independently and impartially, so that we may raise the question, whether the conclusions arrived at do square with the biblical presentation. This charge may be levelled against all scholars whatever their point of view. The results are being reached or construed with an eye to the specific position of the authors, whether strictly traditional or extremely radical. The former refuse to recognize archaeological results not in confirmation of biblical statements, while the latter would not give credence to conclusions that would be contrary to preconceived critical theories arrived at on the basis of historical hypotheses. Thus from such a preconceived point of view archaeology loses its fundamental importance and is reduced to a subordinate position in biblical studies. It is no longer an independent scientific discipline but merely a handmaid of the other biblical disciplines. However, it must be admitted that there is some justification for those who implicitly believe in biblical traditions to reject contradictory archaeological evidence which at best is merely circumstantial and should not invalidate direct biblical testimony. But there is no reason for disregarding archaeological evidence conflicting with modern views which are

solely of an hypothetical nature, and this is actually done by modern critics. If Israel, in the early periods of its history is treated from the point of view of nomads or a peasant people on a low plane of civilization, this is surely against the testimony of archaeology which leaves no room for doubt that Palestine during the second millennium was a highly civilized country, and Israel could not have escaped the influence of its environment. But on this point archaeological evidence is disregarded, as it would overthrow all hypotheses of Biblical criticism.

Among the special works on this subject which are widely used and frequently referred to is Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*.²² This book has now appeared in a third revised edition. This new publication naturally includes a large number of important results from the discoveries during the last two decenniums which elapsed since 1907, the date of its second edition. We were surprised to find that the author did not revise his position with regard to Hugo Winckler's Pan-Babylonian theories which in the former edition had been fully accepted and essentially influenced its conclusions. Benzinger evidently did not see any reason for changing his views on this point, though these theories which formerly were at least a matter of controversy, have now receded into the background, and are, with a very few exceptions, partly ignored and partly denied. But the author still believes in them, and it is possible that his book which will continue to be consulted on archaeological matters, will revive interest in these theories. They are not only fully treated in a special chapter entitled "The Sciences" (pp. 162-190), but also play a fundamental part in all the discussions and investigations of the culture and religious beliefs of Israel. On the other hand, the author is a well-known biblical critic, and it is to be expected that no conclusions should be found there which would come into collision with his critical views. Yet from a Pan-Babylonian point of view we should expect the author to be opposed to current biblical criticism, but this is far from being the case, and he finds a way to reconcile both views. It would be a desideratum to have at our disposal an archaeological work that is limited to archaeological matters, from which we are able to draw our own conclusions, and not be forced to disentangle them from the author's critical and Pan-Babylonian views with which they are intricately interlaced. However, in default of such a work, we must do

²² *Hebräische Archäologie*. Von I. BENZINGER. Dritte, neu bearbeitete Auflage mit 431 Abbildungen im Text. Leipzig: VERLAG VON EDUARD PFEIFFER, 1927. Pp. 437.

our best with text-books on archaeology, written from preconceived points of view, to glean the facts and ignore the theories.

For instance, the author rightly states that the ancient narrators of the Patriarch-stories presume that the laws prevailing in Canaan during that period were those of the Code of Hammurabi (p. 272). Nevertheless, this does not prevent the author from accepting the position of the critics with regard to the date and composition of the various documents of which the Pentateuch is said to be composed, which they assign to late periods. Yet the very fact that the biblical narrators should have been so exactly informed concerning the laws prevailing in Canaan during such a remote period ought to constitute an incontrovertible argument for the antiquity of the biblical narratives, proving that they actually date from a pre-Mosaic period. This argument would be still more weighty on the author's own admission, that the Patriarch-narratives contain features of which it cannot be said that they were projected from the present, the Israelitish period, into the past, as they are of a kind either contrary to the laws existing among the Israelites or for which no provision was made in Israel's laws. It seems quite inconceivable how one who expresses such a view should assign the composition of these narratives to the 8th and 7th centuries.

Furthermore, the author demonstrates by several instances the close connection of the civil laws of the Book of the Covenant with those of the Code of Hammurabi, and if so, there would be no reason against assigning them to the Mosaic period or even to Mosaic authorship. He might have gone still further than that, in seeing in the Book of the Covenant, as far as its civil laws are concerned, the ancient civil Code of the Semites, the laws of which were incorporated into the Code of Hammurabi. This would account for the close relationship of the Babylonian and the Hebrew Codes. While the ancient Semitic laws were modified to fit into the Babylonian conditions which were different from those of the ancient Semites, such a modification was unnecessary for the pastoral Hebrews whose mode of life was on the whole identical with that of the ancient Semites. This would actually mean, that the laws of the Book of the Covenant are older than those of the Code of Hammurabi. This argument for the antiquity of the Book of the Covenant is not pressed, as it would force upon the author a complete break with the position of modern criticism. It is thus seen how profitably this book can be used by one who is unbiased concerning the critical views, and could freely investigate them in the light of archaeology and reject them if they do not stand the archaeological test.

However, it is obvious that the author is fully aware of the fact that the conclusions drawn from the observations to which he called attention would lead to a position contrary to that held by the critics. In order to escape these consequences, he maintains that the cuneiform script and language were used by the Israelites in a very late period, during the seventh century B.C.E., and that even Israel's laws were written in cuneiform (p. 177). If this be true, it would be reasonable to presume that the literary men in Israel possessed a good knowledge of cuneiform and were well acquainted with the Babylonian and Assyrian literature, and even the Code of Hammurabi may not have been unknown to them. Consequently the authors could easily give to the Patriarch-narratives an archaic background and construct them in the light of legal usages prevailing in Canaan during the second millennium, and we may no longer see in their description evidence of their antiquity. Nor can we insist upon the early origin of the Book of the Covenant, notwithstanding its close relationship with the Code of Hammurabi, if the laws of the latter had been known to Israel's literary men during the Israelitish period.

However, the author's contention that the cuneiform characters and language were in use during the Israelitish period rests on very slender and precarious evidence. He refers to two cuneiform contract tablets, discovered at Gezer, which were drawn up in 649 and 647 respectively, on one of which one of the parties was an Israelite. Now it is self-evident that this discovery does not prove anything, bearing in mind that the territory of Northern Israel during the seventh century was an Assyrian province, and was moreover largely inhabited by colonists coming from Babylonia, and therefore, it is to be expected that the medium of intercourse and especially the legal language should have been cuneiform. On the contrary, the very fact, that no tablet has been found in Gezer dating from a period when North Israel was an independent state, may be taken as evidence that cuneiform never was in use among the Israelites. Now it is true, the author holds that cuneiform was regarded in Israel as being "divine," and bases this view on Ex. 31, 18; 32, 16, and was used for sacred purposes, while the Phoenician characters were exclusively used for common purposes. Thus he might say that among the Israelites the legal contracts were written in Phoenician characters on perishable material, and not in cuneiform upon clay-tablets. But then it would prove that the tablets discovered at Gezer were not in conformity with the Israelitish customs, and this would constitute evidence against the use of cuneiform in Israel. Moreover, if the laws were written in cuneiform,

we would expect the use of the same script and language for the legal documents, in which legal phrases were used. Surely a view that is fundamental for the historical character of biblical traditions ought not to be based upon such a flimsy evidence. However, it seems to us that this is merely a way out of the dilemma in which the author finds himself. It is almost impossible that he should not have perceived that the archaeological results were bound to come into conflict with his critical views, according to which biblical traditions are of a legendary character and scarcely of any historical value, and being firmly convinced of this fact, the tablets of Gezer served him as a loophole to escape from his difficult position.

From this discussion it is seen that biblical students must use proper discretion in making use of this archaeological work, and only in that way will they find the archaeological materials presented in it of inestimable value. The book consists of four parts subdivided into chapters. The first part deals with land and people from the earliest times to the post-exilic period. The second part is entitled "Private Antiquities" and treats of food, clothing, habitation; the family and its usage, society and its usage; the various professions, sciences, measures, coins, and art. The third part, called "State Antiquities," discusses constitution and government, law and legal procedure, and the conduct of war. The fourth part, designated "Sacred Antiquities" investigates the place of divine worship, the status of the priests, sacrifices, festivals, and ritual purity. It is noteworthy that the author fully accepts the pre-exilic origin of the Day of Atonement (p. 393). These parts are preceded by an introduction which points out the task, extent, and arrangement of the materials, and presents also the sources and the history of archaeology. We may refer also to the high value of the 431 illustrations which this work contains. As far as the materials are concerned, it may justly be ranked among the prominent works on this subject and our dissent from the author's critical and Pan-Babylonian views does not detract from its value.

While Pan-Babylonism which in the preceding work is treated as fundamental in biblical studies may rightly be disregarded, it would be a grievous error to go to the other extreme of denying the profound influence of Babylonian civilization on Israel's cultural and religious development. That this is not accepted as an indubitable fact is a by-product of modern biblical criticism which assigns the composition of the biblical narratives dealing with the history of the Patriarchs to a late period. Hence it is natural that their historical character should

be questioned or denied altogether, and that they should be treated as more or less legendary. If we do not accept as historical the biblical statements concerning the Babylonian or Mesopotamian origin of Abraham, and nevertheless discover the closest affinities between Babylon's and Israel's civilizations, we must look for some way to explain this strange phenomenon. Some ascribe their resemblance to the common origin of the Semitic race. Others solve this problem by the fact that Canaan was for centuries under Babylonian dominion, and Israel became heir to the civilization of their Canaanitic predecessors which was essentially Babylonian. There is no difficulty at all for those scholars who go still further in seeing in Israel a part of the native population of Canaan. The critics who assign the composition of the biblical documents to 800-400 B.C.E. find the solution of this problem in the fact, that Israel during these periods was politically under the influence of Assyria and Babylonia, and it is thus to be expected to find in the Hebrew literature cuneiform ideas and religious conceptions. But there is no problem whatever as soon as we accept the biblical tradition as an historical fact that Israel's ancestor was a native of the Euphrates Valley. If so, the people of Israel actually constitute a sub-division of the Babylonian people and its civilization was thus bound to exhibit a close resemblance to that of the main stock from which it separated. Whatever Abraham's religious conception may have been in his native land, it was essentially Babylonian. If he was a Henotheist or a Monotheist in a certain sense, his belief must have been developed on Mesopotamian soil. We should expect to find there among the Babylonian spiritual leaders others sharing the same belief. It would be exceedingly strange, if no traces of such a belief should be found in the cuneiform literature. On the contrary, their absence would seriously impugn the historical character of the biblical traditions with regard to Abraham's religious conceptions. Scholars indeed find in some of the Babylonian Penitential Psalms a stage on the road to Monotheism. The only difference between the Babylonians and Israel lies in the fact that the former remained on the road and never progressed any further, and moreover this road was lost to them altogether and they remained polytheists during their whole existence, while Israel on the same road attained its final goal. If Abraham had not left his native land, his belief might have remained in its incipient stage and would not have developed any further. The small capital that Abraham carried off from the land of his nativity was well husbanded and was not permitted to lie fallow. It is to Israel that mankind is indebted for the existence of Monotheism and Universalism, and

not to Babylon, though these ideas might be found there in their embryonic stage. The same holds true of all the ethical conceptions which we may trace in the cuneiform literature, but were fully developed in Israel. Biblical tradition does not admit of any other conception in the explanation of the similarity of Israel's civilization to that of Babylonia. This problem arises only if we refuse to recognize the historicity of biblical traditions.

It is such a point of view, that "all our biblical records are in their present form so much later than the events that an element of uncertainty cannot be eliminated" (p. 115), that underlies Wardle's book *Israel and Babylonia*.²³ The very words of the author leave no room for doubt that his critical position is rather moderate in comparison with that of other critics. He points out, that among the numerous problems in recent years to which the biblical student must devote attention, none is so important as that raised by a comparison of the religion and traditions of Babylonia with those of Israel. Yet if one has not access to a large library, he may find it difficult to get a comprehensive view of the problem. And in this volume there is an attempt to provide material for this purpose, as there is no single book which traverses all the ground that it attempts to cover. The author does not claim too much for his work, as it is indeed excellent in every respect; it is not only comprehensive, but also exceedingly well written. Whatever the author's critical views may be, they do not play any conspicuous part in his discussions and conclusions. Thus it is one of the few books in recent biblical literature which is written from an unbiased point of view and can be used by any student, irrespective of his position toward the critical theories. The book is thoroughly pervaded by a religious spirit. The author utterly rejects the views that would reduce the Old Testament to a dependent position on Babylonia, in declaring that there is nothing in the records of the great empires comparable with the spiritual religion found in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, and that from all comparison the Old Testament emerges with an enhanced splendour. He observes that we should not feel in the least disconcerted, if it should be proved that the eternal light which streams from the pages of the Old Testament has been increased by rays reflected from Babylonia or Egypt. We should rejoice rather to know that the knowledge of God was wider spread than we had hitherto supposed. For we believe that

²³ *Israel and Babylon*. By W. LANSDALL WARDLE, M.A., B.D. (The Twenty-fifth Hartley Lecture). London: HOLBORN PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1925. Pp. xvi+334.

God is Light, and that all the light which shines from human souls is but a reflection of the divine light.

The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first serves as an introduction and deals with the recovery of man's past history. Chapter second shows how profoundly Canaan had been influenced by the great neighboring empires long before the history of the Hebrews as a nation begins, and suggests the environment in which the development of the people took its course. In the third chapter the question is discussed, whether the names of the Patriarchs stand for clans and tribes—a view that is widely held among scholars—or for “faded deities,” a theory, for the justification of which there is very little support in the stories themselves. The author thinks that Abraham was an historic person, and that the story of the migration from Ur of the Chaldees by way of Harran rests upon sound tradition. He doubts, however, the identity of Amraphel with Hammurabi which would make Abraham a contemporary of this Babylonian king. He is content to say very generally that the oldest element of the Hebrew race entered Canaan probably between 2000 and 1650. From this date it seems that the author gives some credence to biblical chronology which is generally disregarded by modern critics as of purely artificial origin—a view expressed by himself (p. 50). He further discusses the identification of the Habiri and of the Egyptian Aperu with the Hebrews, and in connection with it, the date of the Exodus.

Of special importance are chapters IV–V, the purpose of which is to give some idea of the religion of Babylonia, and to examine the proposition, that the Monotheism of the Hebrews owes much to a hypothetical oriental Monotheism of wide prevalence. The subjects discussed are the deities, cult, divination, magic, religious poetry, life after death, the attempt to find in Babylonia parallels to the Hebrew prophets, and the origins of Hebrew Monotheism. In dealing with the question, whether ethical Monotheism may be traced to Moses, the author remarks: “For it must be allowed that our own view, namely, that Israel's Monotheism is really to be traced back to the religious experience of Moses, will hardly seem convincing to an historian who starts out with the assumption that the idea of a Living God revealing Himself to and through human personalities is absurd” (p. 121). But we should think that such views of historians ought to be left out of consideration, as from this point of view all the claims of the prophets to have received divine visions are just as absurd, they were either deceivers or self-deceived, and the Old Testament would be reduced to the level of fairy tales!

In the author we have another witness to our contention that even authors deeply religious cater to "present-day thought" and write specifically for readers whose standard is purely materialistic.

In chapters VI–XI the parallels between Hebrew and Babylonian traditions are examined, such as Creation Stories, Paradise and the Fall, the antediluvian patriarchs, the deluge, Sabbath and Jahveh, and legislation. But of special interest is chapter XII which gives some idea of what is meant by the elusive hypothesis of Pan-Babylonism. Chapter XIII entitled "Retrospect" gathers together the conclusions to which the author has been led in the investigation of the subjects. He admits that there are good reasons for supposing that the culture of Israel may have been influenced by that of Babylon both directly and also indirectly through the older inhabitants of Canaan, but he thinks that it is easy to exaggerate the extent of this influence on Israel's religious traditions. Even in its highest developments the religion of Babylonia falls far below the level of the Old Testament. The investigations into the origins of Hebrew Monotheism seem to discredit the assertion that it is to be found in Egypt or Babylonia, and to show that this great truth was developed among the Hebrew people. Babylonian influence upon the Creation-Story of Genesis I appears to be comparatively slight, and such points of resemblance as are found between *Enuma Elish* and Genesis I are possibly derived from common sources. Though the traditions relating to the antediluvians contain elements common to the Old Testament and Babylonia, the striking features in which the biblical deluge story agrees with similar stories in the Babylonian records fall short of demonstrating any indebtedness on the part of the Old Testament, and it is not certain that the Babylonian traditions are native to Babylonia.—The latter remark refers to Clay's Amurru-Hypothesis which holds that Semitic culture is to be traced neither to Arabia nor to Babylonia but to Amurru, which geographical term covers the countries we know as Palestine and Syria, and to this original source he ascribes the features that are common to both the Old Testament and Babylonia.—The author further contends that there is no substantial evidence that Babylon possessed any real equivalent to the Hebrew Sabbath. Similarly, though the name Jahveh may occur in the Babylonian sources, it is in the highest degree improbable that the Babylonian deity worshipped under that name had anything in common with the God of the Hebrews apart from the name. The author's conclusion is that those who so confidently belittle the traditions and religion of Israel as being no more than copies from Babylonian models fail

to justify their contention by evidence which will survive the test of close scrutiny.

However, though the author's conclusions on the whole appear convincing, it is from his own point of view, which sees in the biblical tradition relating to Abraham's Babylonian origin an historical fact, still questionable, whether the Babylonian influence on Israel was not much larger than he is inclined to admit. Is it not reasonable to assume, that Abraham as a native Babylonian was fairly well acquainted with the Babylonian stories of creation, deluge, laws, customs, and religious conceptions? If the Babylonian circle from which Abraham emanated had a higher religious conception than the Babylonian people at large, should it not seem probable, that the versions of these stories among them were on a higher level, in being somewhat of a Henotheistic character? It stands to reason that they modified them in accordance with their own religious conception and did not reject them altogether. Considering that Abraham's clan left Babylonia, it would seem natural not to find traces of these versions in the cuneiform literature. The Babylonian priests would not have preserved versions of an heretic character which were irreconcilable with the current beliefs. Being of a deeply religious character, these stories were of course transmitted by Abraham to his descendants along with his own belief. Thus from a biblical point of view, nothing would prevent us from seeing in the stories of the creation, deluge and others found in the Bible the same that were current among Abraham's clan in Babylonia. We may even freely admit that in Babylonia Abraham and his clan worshipped their Henotheistic God under the name of Jahveh, but on coming to Canaan they identified Him with the Supreme God of the Westland El Shaddai. We see again that from a traditional point of view the resemblance between the religious conceptions of Israel and Babylonia is no problem whatever. We may say in other words that Israel passed its infancy in Babylonia, and progressing through the intermediate stages of boyhood and adolescence, finally attained to maturity. But the Rabbis remark that what has been learned in childhood is never forgotten. The same may be applied to Israel, that it never forgot the stories it was told during its infancy in Babylonia. But though these stories among Abraham's clan stood on a higher level than those of the other Babylonians, in an earlier period before this clan had attained to a higher religious conception, they were in all probability identical. As a matter of fact, the biblical author leaves no room for doubt that the scene of the stories found in the first eleven chapters of Genesis was the Euphrates

Valley, and he thus claims that they were of Babylonian origin, and there is no reason to question this claim. Even if we should accept Clay's contention that they originated in Amurru, at the time of Abraham this empire had already passed out of existence, and Abraham's immediate teachers were Babylonians, seeing that he was a native of Ur of the Chaldees. Thus the whole discussion is gratuitous, as there is no problem and no solution is necessary. The investigation is only in order, if we doubt or deny the historical character of biblical traditions. Although the author is largeminded enough to argue for the benefit of those who consider as absurd the possibility that a Living God should reveal Himself to and through human personalities, nevertheless he himself is far from entertaining such a view, as his whole book is written for those who do not give credence to biblical traditions, and throughout his endeavor is to convince them of their truth. From the bibliography it can be seen that he thoroughly investigated all the points under discussion, and his book deserves high praise and sincere recommendation to all interested in biblical studies.

While the preceding work presupposes some biblical knowledge on the part of the readers which should enable them to follow the author in his investigations and conclusions, Blaikie's book *The Life of the Ancient East*,²⁴ which is a truly scholarly work, and yet can be appreciated by any intelligent reader. The title is explained by the sub-title: *Being Some Chapters of the Romance of Modern Excavation*. It is not very often, that we meet with a work of this kind in archaeological studies written in a popular style, and here and there also in a humorous vein, in the manner of a traveller who recounts his adventures and likes to dwell upon his past experiences, which at the same time is a storehouse full of sound and useful information for one interested in ancient history. The author fully succeeded in his attempt to make the dead past live again before our eyes. He selects certain sites of the Ancient East and recounts with some fullness of detail the story of modern excavation, and shows both what has been accomplished in the actual revelation of relics of antiquity, and how the great pioneer people of the Ancient East, lived, thought, believed, and died. The sites chosen for study have not been taken at random, as each of them finds its place here because of some special contribution which it made in bygone days to human knowledge and culture, or else because of some

²⁴ *The Life of the Ancient East*. Being some chapters of the Romance of Modern Excavations. By Rev. JAMES BLAIE, F.R.A.S. New York: THE MACMILLAN CO., 1923. Pp. xiv+463; 32 illustrations; 1 map.

special advance of our knowledge of the past which has resulted from its excavation.

The book which is profusely illustrated is divided into thirteen chapters. The introductory chapter, describing the work and its methods, entertainingly discusses the achievements of modern times with regard to the excavations, observing, how great regions of the earth that once were the centres and sources of civilization, from which the light of knowledge and thought went forth upon its mission of enlightenment, had sunk out of human knowledge into oblivion as absolutely, as though the earth had opened and swallowed them up. But to-day all that has been entirely changed, as around these ancient empires, a literature has already grown up which is almost comparable to that existing about Greece and Rome, and it is steadily growing in amount and value year by year.

The following five chapters deal with Egyptian antiquities. The second chapter describes Abydos, the holy city of Egypt, where was the tomb of Osiris, the lord of Resurrection, the place to which every Egyptian desired to make a pilgrimage or to be connected with it by placing there a votive-offering, to be linked with this god and to participate in the blessings which he bestowed upon his faithful worshippers. Of special interest and highly instructive is the third chapter which deals with Tell-El-Amarna, the site of the ancient capital of Amenhotep IV, who tried to overthrow the old Egyptian religion and to establish a monotheistic solar worship. It is a most delightful description of the rise and fall of this religious movement. A sarcastic account of the early nineteenth century scramble for Egyptian antiquities by explorers who "conveyed" the plunder of Ancient Egypt to various European capitals with such energy, that over a good deal of the material which is the pride of some of the greatest museums there might be written with perfect truth "stolen goods," is given in the IVth chapter which describes Thebes, the city of temples and tombs. The account of this ancient capital is continued in the Vth chapter, which deals with its Necropolis, situated on its west bank. The title of the VIth chapter is "Tutankhamen in all his glory," and since the discovery of this king's tomb is of quite recent date and has not lost anything of interest all over the civilized world, the mere title is sufficient to attract the attention of the readers, and the subject is so well presented that it will be no waste of time to read it. Very probable is the author's suggestion to account for the immense treasures found in the tomb of Tutankhamen, that they are not, as some have imagined, the evidence of a rebirth of a

great nation, but rather that of a widowed woman, well aware of the fact that for her, and perhaps for her land, there was no future to match the glories of the past, who buried in the tomb of her dead husband the splendors of the great days of old which she was too proud to see used by lesser men.

Chapters VII-IX contain descriptions of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, the subjects of which are: "Lagash: The typical City-State of early Babylonia;" "Babylon: The Fountain of Law;" and "Nineveh and its Robber-Kings." Also in these matters, the author shows a fine sense of historical acumen in his evaluation of the achievements and defects of these empires and we may sincerely recommend it to students and general readers who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the main historical facts of these ancient empires, and the story of the excavations of their monuments. There is, however, one point to which we may call attention. The author is certainly correct in observing: "The Assyrian was the only race which seems to have deliberately delighted in cruelty for its own sake, and to have found a diabolical satisfaction in the contemplation of scenes of human misery" (p. 303). But the very fact that we do not find anything similar among the Babylonians, neither during the third millennium, nor the second and first millenniums, leaves no room for doubt that this cruel disposition of the Assyrians was not a Semitic trait. However, we must bear in mind that Assyrian kings traced their genealogy to an ancestry which, judging by its proper names, was certainly non-Semitic and must have been closely related to the Hittite-Mitanni. Their entrance into Mesopotamia had rightly been assigned to the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. By their very invasion into a Semitic territory, these non-Semites proved themselves to have been mighty warriors and probably of a fierce disposition, and the cruelty of the Assyrians, delighting in scenes of war and carnage may well be accounted for by the admixture of this foreign blood. How little cruelty is a Semitic characteristic can be seen from the Code of Hammurabi. There is not the least reference to the campaigns and conquests of this king, and if we should judge from its silence, we would be justified in concluding that this king was never engaged in any war. Of course from his Date-Lists and other inscriptions we know that by force of arms he welded together the whole of Babylonia and was the founder of the Babylonian empire. Nevertheless in his Code he dwells only on the benefits that he had conferred upon his subjects, and is silent with regard to the means of their subjection. He saw in war a necessary evil and considered it sinful to pride himself on it,

especially in connection with his Code of laws, the instrument of justice and righteousness. Moses as Lawgiver was not permitted to conduct personally the battles against Amalek, the Midianites, and probably also those against Sihon and Og.

While the first nine chapters dealing with Egyptian and Mesopotamian archaeology are of importance for Biblical studies, the following chapters X-XII claim general interest. Their headlines are: "Troy: the City of Romance;" "Mycenae and Fortress-Palaces of Greece;" and "Knossos: the Home of the Sea-Kings." Their reading is just as charming as fiction, with the exception that it is not fictitious at all but imparts real information to one interested in Greek antiquities and Hellenistic legendary literature. It gives us an insight into the nature of legends, that they do not consist of pure invention but constitute a mixture of truth and fiction. They are facts greatly exaggerated, somewhat distorted, often idealised, but facts withal. We follow Schliemann's career from his very infancy to his discovery of ancient Troy, the scene of the Iliad. We see Mycenae the mighty capital of Agamemnon, where blocks were found, $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and 3 feet deep, and of a weight approximately 120 tons. The author judiciously observes: "Schliemann's discovery had dealt the death-blow to all that arrogant and intolerant spirit which denied reality to the myths, while forcing upon them an interpretation far more baseless and airy than anything in themselves" (p. 347f). No less fascinating is the description of Knossos where we see the palace of Minos rise again before our very eyes, showing also that the legends concerning this king are not mere fables.

However, the author is evidently wrong in following Macalister who contends that the Philistines brought with them their Minoan linear writing, and that it was from their old enemies that the Hebrews learned to form an alphabet of their own (p. 408). A primitive form of the Hebrew alphabet was in use already in the 16th century B.C.E., as seen from a Sinaitic inscription, several centuries before the Hebrews had come into contact with the Philistines. Moreover, it is a well known fact that the names of the letters of this script are Hebrew or Phoenician and that their use among the Greeks is as old as the Greek literature. Accordingly it will be readily admitted that the Greeks adopted their script either from the Phoenicians or from the Hebrews. But if the Philistines did possess a Minoan linear writing which they brought with them from Crete about the 13th century, is it conceivable that the Greeks were so far backward in civilization during

this period, that they were unable to adopt the script of their own Cretan relations, and that the art of writing was unknown to them until they came in contact with the Semites of Palestine? As a matter of fact, with the exception of the disc of Phaestos, there is no trace of evidence that the Philistines possessed a writing of their own, and Macalister's contention rests on the supposition that the Philistines were Cretans by origin.

This scholar would credit the Philistines with the whole of Israel's civilization. Their name having become jestingly a term for narrow-mindedness and a common-place existence, Macalister appointed himself their champion in clearing the Philistines of this charge, and in his zeal he went so far as to endow them with achievements they never attained. From the biblical records we may certainly gather that their medium of intercourse was the language of Canaan, though at their entrance into the country they naturally possessed a language of their own. There can be very little room for doubt that these foreign invaders constituted the ruling class, while the people at large were Semites, and it is quite natural that after a few generations they should have adopted the Semitic tongue and customs, with the exception of the practice of circumcision. Their chief god Dagon was an ancient Semitic deity whose name occurs in Babylonian proper names of the third millennium B.C.E. The author who throughout his work exhibits sound judgment and excellent historical perception ought to have been sceptical concerning Macalister's conclusions. But he does the same in the concluding chapter XIII, which is entitled: "Gezer: A City of many races," in accepting indiscriminately Macalister's conclusions and there are a number to which one might take exception. However, it is not Macalister's work that is under present investigation, and we need not dwell upon his views.

We have repeatedly expressed our appreciation of this archaeological work as to its contents and form of presentation. It possesses a unique quality which is very rarely found in recent literature closely connected with biblical studies. There is not the least allusion to modern biblical criticism, and it fundamentally differs from other works dealing with archaeological matters, shedding light upon the history and religion of Israel, into which critical views intrude themselves, however far-fetched the connection between them may seem. We rejoice to find at least one book where archaeological matters are presented from an unbiased

point of view, and can thus be freely consulted by any reader. It is only to be regretted that the author deals merely with some chapters of archaeology and not with the whole archaeological material.

It is not more than three decades since prominent scholars pronounced Sargon of Akkad as an astral myth, but a few years afterward, his own inscriptions at Nippur and numerous business documents dated in his reign proved him to be just as historical as Sargon II of Assyria. This observation leads us to a consideration of Lane's *Babylonian Problems*.²⁵ The author, as British officer, spent two years and a half in Mesopotamia where he had many opportunities of examining personally the topographical details of the most important districts, and there he studied the various problems presented from a topographical perspective.

The book consists of seven chapters the most important of which are the first three that deal with the investigation of Opis. This city was one of the most ancient localities in Babylonia, as it continued its existence for more than three thousand years. There are continual references to it from about the middle of the fourth millennium, in an inscription of Enshagkushanna, the founder of the second dynasty of Erech, to Arrian (137 C.E.). The noted Oxford Assyriologist, S. Langdon in his scholarly and interesting introduction to this work, points out that in this region which comes within the survey of the author's work lay four of the most ancient cities in human history: Kish, Sippar, Cutha, and Opis. It is also his contention that the Sumerians who migrated westward from the Elamitic region founded the ancient cities of both Sumer and Akkad, long before the arrival of the Semites in the Euphrates Valley. He even ascribes to them the establishment of the various cults. This view is certainly more probable than that of Eduard Meyer, which had been accepted by a large number of scholars, that the Semites were the first to arrive at Babylonia, and they had established the various sanctuaries, which were taken over by the Sumerians, but with the exception of establishing religious institutions, they remained in a primitive state until the advent of the Sumerians. We may even go further and see in Nineveh a Sumerian foundation, and this would account for its Sumerian name.

Chapter IV entitled "Ancient Mesopotamia," examines the descriptions of Mesopotamia as rendered by the classic writers, and compares them with the details of terrain as observed. It identifies the sites of

²⁵ *Babylonian Problems*. By Lieut. Col. W. H. LANE. New York: E. P. DUTTON Co., 1923. Pp. 331; illustr. and diagrams 29; 2 maps.

some of the ancient cities and solves problems of geographical and historical importance. But while these four chapters are of a technical nature and exclusively of interest for specialists, it is different with regard to the contents of the last three chapters, the subjects of which are: "The March of the Ten Thousand from the Gates of Babylon to Opis (Xenophon's *Anabasis*);" "The Invasion of Mesopotamia by the Emperor Julian" (363 C.E.); and "Babylon: Its Size and System of Defence." We cannot imagine a student of history who would not appreciate these investigations. The latter which deals with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus is of course of importance for the Bible student. Topography is certainly a dry subject, and yet the author possesses the admirable gift of rendering it highly attractive, and its presentation certainly makes good reading, besides being very instructive.

However, these seven chapters constitute only the main part of the work which deals with the author's investigations. But there is another part which comprises about half of the volume. This part consists of Appendices which contain excerpts from the cuneiform inscriptions, classic writers, as Herodotus, Xenophon (*Anabasis*, *Cyropedia*), Polybius, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, Arrian, Ammianus Marcellinus, mediaeval and modern writers, and last but not least, from the Old and New Testaments. They contain all the references to Babylonia and Mesopotamia and are presented in full. The author hopes that the inclusion of these Appendices will justify the extra cost of production. But in pointing out four reasons for having included the collection of these materials within his volume, which are absolutely sound, the author does not seem to be fully aware of the great service he has rendered to the student of history. While the author's own investigations are certainly a contribution to historical studies, we have no hesitation in declaring, that, if it were not so, this collection alone would make it worthwhile for the student to possess such a book in his library as a textbook of archaeology. Thus from every point of view it deserves recommendation as being both highly scientific and exceedingly useful. It contains also 32 illustrations and diagrams and 2 maps.

In dealing with Babylonian Problems we are reminded of a very remarkable study, the subject of which is likewise a Babylonian problem, Schoff's book *The Ship "Tyre."*²⁶ This title is supplemented by the

²⁶ *The Ship "Tyre."* A Study in the Commerce of the Bible. By WILFRED H. SCHOFF. New York: LONGMANS, GREEN & Co., 1920. Pp. 156; illustrations 18.

explanatory note: A Symbol of the Fate of Conquerors as prophesied by Isaiah, Ezekiel and John and fulfilled at Nineveh, Babylon and Rome. It bears also the sub-title: A Study in the Commerce of the Bible. We let the author himself present the idea underlying his investigation: "The dooms of the ship "Tyre" and of the "king of Tyre" are pronounced in the 27th and 28th chapters of the book of the prophet Ezekiel. The cargo of the ship consists of the materials of the temple and palace at Jerusalem, carried to Babylon, with a people captive and their ruler blinded, by the soldiers of king Nebuchadrezzar; the ship herself is a symbol of Babylon, as repository of the ravished treasure; and the "king of Tyre" is given boundaries that mark him as none other than the ruthless ruler of Babylon. By such devices did the prophet give heart to his people, where plain speech must have been disastrous. . . . It is a document to which almost every passage in the Bible, wherein materials of commerce are mentioned, is directly related. It was, no doubt, this device of expressing defiance of unrighteous political power by a Code of Substituted Names which led also to the elaborate numerical code that is apparent in the later Jewish and early Christian writings; whereof a typical instance is the "number of the beast" which signifies the Emperor Nero in the Apocalypse." (Foreword).

The book, which contains a considerable number of illustrations, is divided into fourteen sections, and concludes with an appendix: *Hashmal and Theios*, in which it is suggested that John's Apocalypse embodies a political prophecy, proclaiming the fall of Rome in a numerical code, written largely in the words of Ezekiel. The author points out that due to its geographical position, its cities being located inland, it was only through commercial alliances with neighboring peoples that the commercial strength of Palestine could be developed, and broken alliances or internal division meant cessation of trade. Therefore in the records of Palestine we do not find any consecutive series of commercial documents, but only an occasional picture. He maintains that some of the most detailed of these records are, strictly speaking, not records of trade at all, but symbolic geographical pictures of tabernacle, temple, and palace, of the institutions of priesthood and pryncdom; the symbolism being due in part to the avoidance of direct mention of sacred things, and in part to the danger of predicting harm that is to befall a triumphant and vindictive enemy. These passages form a tradition. They must be considered, not separately, but together. This sounds somewhat similar to the Pan-Babylonian interpretation of Hugo Winckler that the Biblical terms constitute astral *motifs* which must be

considered in connection, and where identical terms occur they express the same *motif*. It reminds us also of the rabbinical category of *gezerah shawah* "analogy from congruent expressions" in the Bible, and the Rabbis likewise say that such analogy must be authorised by tradition. However, Maimonides declared laws derived in that way are enactments of the *Sopherim*, and not Biblical in the true sense of the term.

Sections I-V give a lucid description of the specifications for the tabernacle—the basis of the tradition—the division of the spoil after the victory over the Midianites, the building of the temple and palace, Ophir voyages, and profanation and pillage in the days of Israel's adversity. But the main part consists of sections VI-VII, in which the author undertakes to demonstrate his contention that Ezekiel's prophecies concerning Tyre were meant allegorically, and that the ship of Tyre is a symbol of Babylon. It would lead us too far to present his reasons for such a novel interpretation. Bearing in mind that all the subjects under consideration are treated from a strictly traditional point of view, notwithstanding the author's acceptance of the Documentary Hypothesis, it would be an act of intolerance, to express a dissenting view. However, even if we should disagree with the author as to his main thesis, his book is so crowded with exegetical, philological, historical, and archaeological materials that it may be pronounced a storehouse of information. This is especially true of his "Notes to the Allegory" in section VII. But it contains also in the other parts a large number of valuable notes which are highly suggestive and instructive. He was right in adding a second title to his work "A Study in the Commerce of the Bible," and as such it certainly is an important contribution to Biblical archaeology.

Of special interest is the author's critical position. He observes: "Modern criticism has established the existence of separate elements in the Old Testament. The Mosaic, the Deuteronomic and the Levitical laws reflect different epochs in the history of Israel; the Jahvist, the Elohist and the Priestly writers restate that history from different points of view and with different objects. There has been a tendency to regard the P document as lacking in authority because it is post-exilic in its final form. But it would be nearer the facts of history to regard it as resting upon a traditional basis that antedates the other documents as the sanctuaries of Israel antedate the kings; as containing a discussion of the course of royalty from a priestly standpoint; and as going on with the national record after the kingdom had fallen, and when the priesthood was the only remaining native authority . . .

As ceremonial changes less readily than law, so we may assume that the ceremonial element in the P document contains a large share of the early tradition" (p. 135f). This view alone would testify to the discrimination of the author in neither accepting modern criticism on all points, nor in insisting upon the historical character of all traditions found in the Pentateuch. Thus it could not be said of him that he approaches his subject from a preconceived point of view, and the literary investigations of such an author surely deserve consideration. But it seems that he undermined the fundament of his own thesis in declaring: "The tabernacle of Exodus XXVI-XXX is a very different thing from that of Exodus XXXIII, which must be regarded as the fact, as the other is the ideal of a later age. But the idealized description is not without value, for it translates into portable form the structure and equipment of Solomon's temple, even to its brazen altar, curiously inappropriate in the tabernacle" (p. 140). Surely anything that is of such little value ought not to be made the basis of the tradition, as the specifications for the making of the tabernacle would be mere fiction! We may notice by the way, that his reference to the brazen altar as being curiously inappropriate in the tabernacle is without point. The Israelites in the wilderness must have had some altar for sacrifices, and why not a brazen altar? The golden altar was used only for the offering of incense. It is noteworthy that it is nowhere said that Solomon did make a brazen altar, but its existence is referred to (1 Kings 8, 64). Why not assume that it dated from the Mosaic period. The golden altar of the tabernacle was of course carried off by the destruction of Shiloh and Solomon had to make another one (*ibid.* 7, 48). But the brazen altar was of little value and was left there by the plunderers.

From Schoff's paradoxical interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecies concerning Tyre we approach a work that outdistances anything paradoxical imaginable. We do not use this adjective in a deprecatory sense, as paradoxical theories not infrequently have proved themselves to be true and have been generally accepted. It is no exaggeration to state that the work under consideration has no equal in modern biblical literature both in profundity and originality. It is an Introduction into the System of the Pentateuch, based on philosophical principles and categories never conceived before. The judgment whether they are true or defective must be left to scholars who have made a life-long study of philosophy. If true, we shall have to revise all our conceptions concerning Israel's religion, history, and literature. In reviewing this

work, it is not our intention to express any appreciation or depreciation but mainly to quote a few of its leading ideas. We may call special attention to the fact that in its exposition all critical views are ignored. In fact, throughout there is no reference to any scholar. Yet it is far from being orthodox in any sense. As a matter of fact, the Universalistic conception of the prophets is declared to constitute a decadence of Israel's belief and it severely condemns Maimonides' Aristotelian interpretation of Israel's religious conceptions and observances.

We refer to Goldberg's book *Die Wirklichkeit der Hebräer*.²⁷ In order to understand the meaning of this strange title "The Reality of the Hebrews" we must know the author's definition of *reality*. In the introductory chapter designated "Philosophical and Cosmological Fundamentals" with the additional sub-title "The Idea of Prophecy," the author says: "The world, as the totality of everything existing, consists of two parts: finite and infinite. Under the finite part is to be understood everything existing in space and time, that which is real, and under infinite, that which does not exist in space and time, but will or can arrive there. Hence the infinity is the totality of everything that can be characterised as being possible. However, the idea of *possibility* is used here differently from that of the current use of this term. Formerly *possibility* had a purely formal significance, reality being differentiated from possibility in the sense that reality exists, while possibility does not. Contrary to this conception, possibility is regarded as existing: the possibility not existing in space and time is just as real as the reality existing in space and time. The difference between them is: the reality is to be conceived as being manifest and possibility as latent. We have thus to distinguish between the manifest, finite reality and the latent, infinite reality (p. 1). We see then from the author's definition of *reality* that it includes also things that are possible, and this is the "reality of the Hebrews."

As to the idea of prophecy in the introductory chapter, the author expresses himself as follows: "This idea is of a twofold nature: contemplative and dynamic prophecies. For in the infinity there are contained two different elements, the first of which is that which has come to pass (on the basis of the law of causality), and the second is anything that may come to pass, in accordance with the category of arbitrariness which rules in the infinity. The task of the contemplative prophecy is to

²⁷ *Die Wirklichkeit der Hebräer*. Einleitung in das System des Pentateuch. Von OSKAR GOLDBERG. Erster Band. Berlin: VERLAG DAVID, 1925. Pp. 301.

foresee that which must happen, while that of the dynamic prophecy is to bring to pass anything that should happen. The proper use of the category of purpose, which is closely associated with the principles of restoration and completion, is the prevention of events that would but should not come to pass and the realization of events which ought to come to pass and otherwise would not. Seeing that all possibilities exist in the infinite reality, it follows that every possibility can be realized by the application of the proper metaphysical methods" (p. 5f). It would thus seem that the dynamic prophet would be practically omnipotent, though he would never make use of his power unless dictated by the category of purpose.

With regard to the term "world" in the Pentateuch, the author states: "This term is used in three different meanings: Firstly, it may mean anything in existence. This is expressed in Genesis 1, 1 by a complex term, the *pluralis tantum shāmain*—which in this connection ought to be properly rendered "world" or respectively "worlds," and not "heaven"—and *ereṣ* "earth," and by this term is to be understood: "the finite and the infinite reality." Secondly, this term may mean our world of three dimensions, and this is occasionally also expressed in the Pentateuch by the same complex term. Thirdly, the reference to the separate worlds of the finite reality is expressed by the term *shamē shāmain*, which means "worlds of worlds." They are like the rungs of a ladder rising one above the other: this is the meaning of the ladder in Jacob's dream, on the rungs of which the messengers of *Elohim* were ascending and descending. In the Pentateuch, the idea of *shāmain* is precisely defined by the term *raḳi'a* (p. 7). It would require too much space to quote in full the author's strange and wonderful interpretation of this term. It is his contention, that the term *raḳi'a* designates the confines of the whole world-system, expressed by the complex term and comprises, as we have seen, the infinite and finite reality, in a metaphysical sense.

The work, of which as yet only the first volume is published, is divided into two parts: the fundamental ideas and the systematic, which are subdivided again into ten chapters. We have already referred to the introductory chapter, from which we have quoted a few paragraphs. The second chapter bears the remarkable heading: "The Equation: Peoples = Gods = Worlds." This reminds us somewhat of Pan-Babylonianism which operates with similar equations, though in other respects there is not the least connection between the two systems. At the conclusion of the arguments proving the truth of this equation,

the author presents its formulation: "There is an idea of reality that is neither bound together with the individual nor with humanity as a whole but with the people. Every genuine, that is, metaphysical, people constitutes the periphery of a system, in the (transcendental) system of which stands its god as a biological centre. The dynamic relation between god and people is a reality-forming power. Since, however, each people possesses its own god or gods, it must have also its own reality. Therefore there must exist a series of reality-systems which are quite different from one another analogous to the "astronomical" systems. These metaphysical world-systems are distinguished from the natural astronomical systems in being directed against the latter. The metaphysical system *People-God* (which is valid only for certain parts of humanity) begins where the natural law (valid for all humanity) ceases. Generally expressed: peoples are institutions i. e. undertakings for the abrogation of the laws of nature" (p. 30f).

The superscription of the third chapter is: "The Origin of Man and the Science of the Deities." It begins: "The relation of *Jahveh Elohim* who belongs to the infinite reality to the other *Elohim* of the finite reality is clearly seen from Genesis. "This" world, that is, that world which has no biological centre, is the original domain of *Jahveh Elohim*. This is also seen from His designation "the Living Elohim," that is, the *Elohim* living in this world. Therefore the dead person who no longer lives in this world is the fountain-head and prototype of defilement. Hence anything that comes into contact with a corpse is unfit for the service of Jahveh, and it is forbidden to communicate with the dead. This is the reason why there is no reference to immortality (the belief in which is a self-evident presumption), as Jahveh is the *Elohim* of "this" world, while the *Elohim* of the "other" worlds, contrasted with "this" world, are designated *Elohim Metim* "dead gods" (p. 32). In order to understand these remarks, we must keep in mind the author's definition of the "world" as including both the finite and infinite reality. From this point of view, the author goes on to describe the desire of the *Elohim* of the "other" worlds to enter into the domain of *Jahveh-Elohim*, which is effected by a "compromise," in the creation of man, in which all *Elohim* participate, as it is written: "Let us make a man." All these ideas constitute likewise a "compromise" between Cabbalah and philosophy.

Chapters IV-V are entitled: "The Significance of Anthropology; the Fixation, Effects, and Counteraction" (*Gegenreaktion*). Of the innumerable ideas which are quite contrary to our conceptions, we shall

select one concerning the conception of the "world-religion" (Universalism), which the author deprecates as a reaction, observing: "While the national religion presents the real and transcendently ordered relation of the people to its biological centre, the God of the world-religion is no longer a reality but an abstraction. The world-religion is thus the expression of a fictitious relation between God and man. This is the development from the "reality" to the "idea." This is the evolutionary process from "people" to "mankind" . . . The phases of this *theological* development can best be observed among the Hebrews. "The *Ethos* of the Prophets" has been placed higher than that of the Pentateuch. In fact, however, this is not a progress but a reaction. In the Pentateuch Jahveh goes before the people in pillars of cloud and fire, walks, dwells, and makes His permanent abode among them. In the days of Samuel, however, Jahveh is given the apposition *Sebaoth* "Hosts," which means a division of Jahveh into numberless beings and powers, which almost approaches Pantheism. More crass is the case of Solomon. This king who lived at the time of the metaphysical zenith in Palestine and shortly before its decline, after finishing the building of the Temple, delivers an address in which he says: "But will God in very truth dwell on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee; how much less this house that I have builded!". Now if Solomon had been less "wise" and not a superficial aesthete, through the abundance of his erotic experiences, but a person of a somewhat more philosophical profundity, he could have easily answered this question, in looking back upon the whole past of the Hebrews and finding that their only task was to erect a *Mishkan* "dwelling-place" for Jahveh and to bring about thereby His presence among them. This task was still instinctively felt by the Rabbis in Talmud and Midrash in which God is often designated as *Shekinah*, which means "dwelling" or "presence," because originally God could not be imagined without His presence . . .

From the wise king Solomon to the Aristotelian assimilatory Maimonides is a straight line, and the latter is ready to explain the cult of sacrifices as a concession to the heathen instinct of the Hebrews. It is self-evident that with Solomon, the man without ability or discretion, who handed over Palestine to the neighboring Elohim by introducing their worship, the "zenith" is soon at an end and there begins the irresistible decline of the kingdom of North Israel" (p. 48ff). Having paid his compliments to Solomon and Maimonides, the author turns against Jeremiah, though treating him more leniently as a victim of circumstances. This prophet raises the question in the name of the Lord: "Fear ye not Me? saith the

Lord; will ye not tremble at My presence, who placed the sand for the bound of the sea, an everlasting ordinance which it cannot pass?" (5, 22). The author answers this question with an emphatic "No!". This is no reason to fear God! It is logically and morally forbidden to see a "miracle" in the verdure of the summer and the snow of the winter. A miracle must be a supernatural event. However it is strange that the author in his arguments should have expressed two contentions which are evidently erroneous. He maintains that the Pentateuch nowhere says that God is in heaven. Did he overlook the prayer: "Look forth from Thy holy habitation, from heaven" (Deut. 26, 15)? He further contends that no law is based upon the fact, that God is the creator of heaven and earth. But what about the commandment of Sabbath in Exodus 20, 11?

Still more amazing are the views expressed in the sixth chapter that is headed: "The Question of Equilibrium" (*Die Gleichgewichts-Frage*). The starting point is the problem of the theodicy. For the sake of argument, the author takes issue with his own contention that the national conception of God stands on a higher level than that of the world-religion, asking: Is it indeed possible that the abstract idea of God (as that in the Psalms) should not be the only one conceivable and not be on a higher level than the national idea, seeing that the former is of universal validity and the latter is not? How else could we conceive God as being Omnipotent and Omnipresent and of absolute justice? However, that scarcely anything is explained by attributing this all-power to God is seen from the unsolved religious-philosophical problem of the theodicy. Therefore the whole problem-complex will have to be attacked non-theologically on the basis of the Pentateuch. There we must strictly distinguish between two kinds of the idea of God, not because the Pentateuch consists of two "sources"—it comes from one mold—, but due to the metaphysical situation. One must differentiate between *Jahveh Ehad* and *Jahveh Elohim*, as *Jahveh* has a double meaning which lies at the root of the world-construction. "*Jahveh the One*" is *Jahveh* as existing before anything came into being, while *Jahveh* with the monoplural apposition *Elohim*, which means *Jahveh* in so far as being *Elohim*, is *Jahveh* as entering into the finite part of the world. This entrance is of far-reaching importance, as thereby He enters into the finite reality and becomes subject to the same laws as the other *Elohim*: by His existing in the finite world-system, His infinite nature becomes finite, and this excludes Omnipotence as His attribute. The abandoning of the theological idea of Divine all-power

explains firstly how there could be a "struggle" between Jahveh and the other *Elohim*. A struggle can take place only if the superiority of one of the parties is for some length of time uncertain. Yet a regular war takes place between Jahveh and the *Elohim* of the Egyptians. As corollary it follows further that we must abandon also the idea of Divine Omnipresence. God is not everywhere but only where He manifests Himself. His presence is limited to the place where He causes His "*Shēm*" (name) to dwell . . . This idea of the limitation of the Divine presence is contrary to both Theology which teaches the all-penetrating presence of God and Pantheism which maintains Divine Immanence and explains everything as being divine. If however, God is bound together with His manifestation (*Elohim*), it is obvious that we must abandon as well the idea of His incorporeality. This error is based upon a false interpretation of the Pentateuch. It teaches the formlessness of God but not that He is incorporeal. The other *Elohim* must needs assume incorporation in certain forms in order to be "present" in this world, the original domain of *Jahveh Elohim*, while He is formless as being the principle from which all forms generate. This theoretical standpoint, which denies the Divine Omnipotence and Omnipresence, solves the problem of Divine Justice. God is not responsible for the misery of the righteous and the felicity of the wicked, because He is not there; He is not "present;" He does not "rule;" His "reality"—which is identical with His Power—does not exist" (p. 60ff). These philosophic-Cabbalistic-philological interpretations remind us somewhat of the *Zohar* which sees in *Elohim* an emanation of the *En-Soph* (Gen. 1, 1) and also of the Gnostics who saw in the God of Israel a somewhat inferior emanation of the Supreme God (the real *God-Father* of Jesus), and likewise denied His Omnipotence, Omnipresence, and Omniscience, though the author proceeds from quite different premises and fully identifies *Jahveh Elohim* as Creator of the Universe, with *Jahveh* "the One." In this sense, he interprets the *Shema*: "Understand well, O Israel, *Jahveh* is our *Elohim*, *Jahveh* is the *Ehad*," and declares that in this sentence is contained the secret of the double meaning of *Jahveh* (p. 68). There is a mass of literary evidence for all these contentions which must be left to the reader.

The seventh chapter is called: "The Separate Position of the Hebrews in the Equation People = God." Its main discussion is the solution of the question concerning the relation of *Jahveh Elohim* to biology in general. Seeing that He does not possess "a biological centre" like the other *Elohim* of the finite reality, and yet, there are proofs of His

control of biology, He must occupy a quite definite position towards the laws of life, the origin of which is rooted in the world-construction. Chapter VIII is peculiarly divided into two parts and is entitled "General Characteristics of the Non-theological Conception." The multitude of subjects, the complicated nature of the ideas, and the philosophical terminology render it nigh impossible to present even a faint idea of its contents. It may perhaps be of interest to quote the author's conception with regard to the Mosaic Laws. "The medieval conception divides the laws of the Pentateuch into three classes, the first, those the reason of which is given, as the commandment of unleavened bread; second, those which are obvious, as the moral laws; and third, the statutes (*hukkim*), which are not explained being unexplainable, as the limited human reason could not conceive them. In opposition to this narrow conception, which is non-metaphysical, we say that the statutes are not explained because of their obvious character" (p. 95). Of deep interest, though paradoxical in the highest degree, is the author's interpretation of the terminology of the Pentateuch (pp. 96-116). We may also call attention to the section designated *Amoralische Auffassung*, in which the author declares that the separation of public morals as the affair of the state from religion is a sign of a non-metaphysical age which knows nothing about the idea of *totality*, while to a metaphysical people possessing a national religion such a separation is impossible.

Chapters IX-X, which constitute the second part, deal with a large variety of subjects, and their superscriptions are: "The Empiric Manifestations and Institutions; The Background of the Rituals." We have met in this book with so many strange statements, that we are not surprised to find the view that the so called Cabbalah is in its elements much older than the Pentateuch which constitutes a protest against it. Its first representatives, according to a tradition, were Shem and Eber, the two "mighty individuals," the founders of the Semitic and Hebrew race, who established metaphysical institutions, metaphysics in the "Name" of Jahveh being pursued, long before Abraham. However, this is after all obvious, if we identify Cabbalah with magic which is of course much older than the Pentateuch or any religious system. Moreover, if the worship of Jahveh dates from a pre-Israelitish period, there must have been institutions dedicated to His worship in which magic was practised, as in those of all other deities, and it is quite natural that the oracle of Jahveh was consulted by His worshippers, as did Rebecca and no doubt many others.

Scholars, orthodox, conservative, or modern, starting to read this

book will be inclined to put it aside with disgust as a waste of time. The present writer did the same. But on making another attempt to acquaint himself with the views of the author, soon his disgust changed into amazement and finally into the highest admiration. The reason is not because he became convinced of their truth, but because he found there a chain of logical deductions so closely knitted together that scarcely one link is missing, though a considerable part consists of circumstantial evidence. The acceptance of this philosophic-metaphysical system depends upon that of the premises on which it is based. True, the ideas are odd, and their acceptance will overthrow conceptions held for millennia. But in physics this actually has happened, as our modern discoveries testify, and why not in metaphysics? Even if these premises should be rejected, we must bear in mind Kant's definition of metaphysics, a systematic exposition of those notions and truths, the knowledge of which is altogether independent of experience. Is not this absolutely true of this work? There are innumerable views to which we must take exception from religious, archaeological, critical, and philological points of view, but we must not deny that it is a systematic exposition in the very sense of the term, based on the Pentateuch, partly in the light of Rabbinic traditions. We do not doubt in the least that there are some scholars who would go so far as to denounce and ridicule this religious system as nothing short of madness. But we may say at least of it the words of Shakespeare: "Though this be madness, yet there's method in it." It is the most methodical work that has come under our notice and within our experience for a good many years. Nor must we condemn metaphysical ideas because they are irreconcilable with the modern conception of the universe, as the law of relativity must be applied also to our knowledge. Certainly, a good many fundamental religious doctrines will have to go overboard in accepting the author's views. One of them is the fundamental principle which places the national religion on a level superior to Universalism, and, in fact, sees in the latter pure fiction. However, this would not constitute a valid reason for rejecting them, as it would be dogmatic bias. The same reason would compel us to reject modern criticism as overthrowing all religious conceptions. As a matter of fact, the author's views would be less harmful to our religious beliefs than the modern critical position, and if we must choose between them, we would accept rather the national religion as the standard of a religious creed than "Present-Day Thought."

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ASMAKTA OR INTENTION

IN AN article, which appeared under the above title in this *Quarterly* (XIX (1928-1929), 263-273), Solomon Zeitlin made the following statement: "The Jewish Law (Halakah) has never been studied in the critico-historical way." A momentous word calmly spoken. Yet let this stand, since in this paper I wish to limit myself to his own thesis. He seems to have overlooked the fact that as far back as ten years ago I have treated in detail the question of Asmakta in the *Brann-Festschrift* (*Monatsschrift*, LXIII (1919), 138-155) in a paper entitled "Die Strafklauseln der griechischen Papyrusurkunden beleuchtet durch die aramäischen Papyri und durch den Talmud." I discussed the same legal cases as Zeitlin does, reached the same conclusions concerning Asmakta, so much so that I proved that this term was coined by the Babylonian Amoraim, more specifically in the fourth century. I wrote (*Monatsschrift*, LXIII, 146, in bold-faced type):

"When the Babylonian Talmud applied the Babylonian principle of jurisprudence to a number of precepts of the Mishnah, a code of Palestinian provenance, it necessarily brought a foreign element into Palestinian law. The new principle could not in any way be dovetailed into the old legal system. The thought applied to a single case became generalized more and more, partly by the Talmud itself, but especially by the commentators and decisors, so that a veritable Babylonian confusion arose about the term אַסְמַכְתָּה."

In this point, it may be seen, I agree with Dr. Zeitlin, but not in the interpretation of the tannaitic law. Zeitlin thinks that the question involved is Intention, which he finds also in ritual problems, such as, for instance, in the case of an egg laid on a holiday (ביצה שנולדה ביום, Bezah I, 1; p. 270, n. 13). The Hillelites demand Intention, while the Shammaiites do not consider it necessary. "The school of Shammai say that it may be eaten on the holiday; the school of Hillel forbid it to be eaten on a holiday—although the egg was prepared on the eve, it was without intention of the man to use it on the holiday." Yes, why should he not have had the intention to eat the egg? Indeed, from the controversy itself it appears that such an intention had existed, and it is even more evident from the controversies concerning Sabbath and

holiday, the first and second day of the festival etc., on the first leaves of the above named tractate. The poor Palestinian peasant, who is chiefly concerned here, searched for the egg on the eve of the festival and found none, nevertheless he looked again on the holiday and really found one, and on this the controversy turns. Accordingly an intention to eat it was not lacking. This new kind of הכנה is at least as little plausible as that of Rabba. Yet I do not wish to dwell here any longer upon this halakah, concerning which I have long had my own opinion; I only want to show by this remark how futile it is to bring into connection ritual with legal questions. And yet this is the starting point of Zeitlin's interpretation. For the realization of his idea of intention he is compelled to declare R. Judah, one of the prominent pupils of R. Akiba, who ultimately dislodged the school of Shammai, as a Shammaiite (p. 271). Intention, properly speaking, is in its essence Asmakta. For Asmakta means to assure the party to the agreement, whereby, however, there is no intention to fulfill the assurance. There is no intention to fulfill the condition. Had intention been the decisive factor, then also R. Jose would not have acknowledged as legally valid the conditions drawn up, especially those that are too difficult, for the party to the agreement really had no intention to keep what was promised in case the condition was not fulfilled. He only started from the consideration that he would not have to pay the exorbitant fine fixed by convention, but he was willing enough to fulfill the accepted condition.

In all these legal cases it is the fine agreed upon that is involved. This legal institution is familiar in Babylonian law, in the Jewish-Aramaic and also in the Greek papyri. Fine by agreement is a fine of money which the contracting parties agree upon against the emergency of contract violation. In the fixation of the amount of this fine the parties had the fullest freedom according to Hellenistic law in the Egyptian papyri.¹ In the Jewish-Aramaic papyri, all of which are descended from the fifth pre-Christian century, consequently are about two centuries older than the Greek papyri, which were likewise found in Egypt, the fine agreed upon appears regularly. Pap. A, l. 7: 3 Keresh; Pap. C, l. 15: 20 Keresh, etc. On an average these are high amounts. In a contract from the time of Nebuchadnezzar (about 600 B.C.E.) a twelve-fold fine is agreed on for the case of the disavowal of the amount received.² Berger proves that the Greek-Egyptian fine agreed upon was

¹ Berger in the book mentioned in the next note, p. 19.

² Editions of the Aramaic Papyri by Cowley, Sachau, Ungnad and others. I quote from Staerk, *Jüdisch-Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine*.

not an empty word but rather a practical and vital institution. Through high fines of money the fulfilment of the conditions of the contract was assured. The fine agreed upon, whatever its amount, had proper results (p. 54ff.). The Aramaic and Babylonian documents mentioned above prove without doubt that contracts with exorbitant fines by agreement were current in the Ancient Orient. Accordingly there is no reason to assume that different conditions obtained among the Jews of Palestine in case of such contracts, and indeed we find no differences whatever.

1. In farm leases there was always the following formula: "Should I let the field lie fallow and not cultivate it I shall pay of the best." Therefore the law ordained to get an estimate of the exact amount of the field's production, according to which the tenant is to pay (Mishna Baba Mezia 104a). The Babylonian Talmud quotes another case. A tenant wrote in the contract: "Should I let the field lie fallow and not cultivate it I shall pay you 1000 Denarii." He then let a third of the field lie fallow, wherefore the Nehardeans sentenced him to pay 333.33 Denarii (*ibid.* 104b). The Mishna (Palestinian) mentions a normal case involving only indemnity, the Talmud (Babylonian) a high fine by agreement, but both look upon the contract as binding. Raba, who was school principal at Mahuza on the Tigris and not in Babylonia proper, about 350, decrees on the other hand that the 3000 Denarii are only an "ease of mind" (אסמכתא), an assurance for the fulfilment of the contract, hence not to be taken literally, and consequently the fine agreed upon is not to be paid at all. In both cases actual occurrences are involved. In Palestine, as stated expressly in the Mishna, the tenant as a rule enters the above quoted formula in the contract; an exception like that occurring in Nehardea is not dealt with, for the simple reason that it never occurred in Palestine. Zeitlin does not cite these passages, apparently because he considered them as irrelevant to his theory, while as a matter of fact they form part of it.

2. The buyer gives to the seller an earnest (עֶרְבֹן, ἀρραβών, *arrhabo*, *arrha*): if the buyer draws back the earnest is lost, if the seller draws

time, second edition, Bonn 1912; *Alte und Neue Aramäische Papyri*, Bonn 1912 (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen herausgegeben von Th. Lietzmann, Nos. 22-23, 94). The Babylonian contract is cited in the first book, p. 14.—The hellenistic papyri are quoted from Adolf Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden. Ein Beitrag zum graeco-ägyptischen Obligationenrecht*, Leipzig and Berlin 1911.

back he has to refund double the amount of the earnest. Jose thinks the conditions are valid, Judah, on the other hand, is of the opinion that to the buyer belongs only as much (of the purchased property in case of non-payment of the purchasing sum) as corresponds to his earnest money (Baba Mezia 48b and 77b). In the Tosefta Baba Mezia 1, 16-19, similar cases occur: "In case two persons make a mutual pledge, one saying to the other: If I do not come up to a certain day thou shalt receive from me so and so much; when the appointed time has come the condition is valid, in the opinion of Rabbi Jose. Rabbi Judah said: How should this person acquire a thing that has not reached his hand."³ The same controversy is found in case of mortgaging a house or a field, which is to be forfeited if the pawner does not pay up to a certain time. Judah says: how should this person acquire something which does not belong to him.⁴ Then comes the first case of the earnest (ערבון) already mentioned above, to which Judah again remarks "how should this person acquire something that does not belong to him." Whereupon there follows a similar case: "If one offers a loan on a pledge and the borrower says: If I do not pay you up to a certain day you owe me nothing (i. e. the pledge is forfeited); when the day comes and he has not paid, the pledge belongs to him whether good or bad."⁵ It is evident that we are dealing here with a fine by agreement. In both cases Judah does not stress the invalidity of intention, as maintained by Zeitlin p. 271, but the deficiency of the seizure of property: "the thing is not in his hand," "the thing does not belong to him." According to Jewish law words are not sufficient, there must be possession (קנין), which assumes definite forms. This is the case with the pledge mentioned above (which Zeitlin cites on the same page).

3. The debtor has paid a part of his debt and he hands the bond over to a third person saying: "If I do not pay my debt up to a certain day return the bond to the creditor." If the debtor has not paid his debt up to the appointed time Jose is of the opinion that the bond returns to the creditor, while Judah does not permit it, for how should he

³ Tosefta 1, 16: *היאך זוכה זה בדבר שלא בא לידו*. Concerning ערבות there is a controversy also among the Amoraim, see Baba Batra 17c towards the end.

⁴ Halaka 17: *היאך זוכה זה בדבר שאינו שלו*.

⁵ Halaka 19. Here there is no mention of a controversy, but probably it took place also at this point. However, this is irrelevant to our purpose.

acquire something that does not belong to him (Mishna Baba Batra 168a).

All these cases revolve around a fine by agreement. Jose represents the legal conception of the Neo-Babylonians, the Egyptians or Persians, as expressed in the Jewish-Aramaic papyri, and the Greco-Egyptians, as expressed in the Greek papyri. All the cases mentioned above are derived from the ordinary occurrences of life, which the Rabbis aim to regulate. From the analogies which I adduced above there is no doubt whatever that Jose represents the old conception, namely that of the ancient Orient, to which also Palestine and its Jews belonged, while Judah inaugurates a new legal conception.⁶ His conscience revolts at the possibility that one or the other party may suffer a loss. Both parties acted in good faith when they entered the contract, therefore none of them, having been prevented from fulfilling their promise, should suffer any loss. The primary thing is the sense of justice, and only secondary to it is juridical proof.

Be that as it may, the fact of a fine by agreement is here beyond any doubt. "The sages speak of the ordinary occurrences of everyday life" is valid here, the more so since to this very day there are such fines by agreement in the most varied legal systems of the world, especially the forfeit of earnest money. The fines stipulated were by no means exorbitant: indemnification in case of a field which has lain fallow, forfeit of a pledge in case of non-payment of the purchasing price, forfeit of earnest money, indemnity in case of a delayed return.

Altogether different is the case with exorbitant fines by agreement which, as already mentioned, were recognized as valid in the ancient world. In Palestine during the tannaitic period such fines were not current, and, as far as I can see, such fines are never mentioned in tannaitic texts. On the other hand, such high fines must have been quite frequent in Babylonia, where the old Babylonian law probably continued its existence among the primitive inhabitants. Hence it is conceivable that in Nehardea also Jews stipulated such a fine by agreement, as already mentioned above (Baba Mezia 104b). In this case, where an exorbitant fine was fixed for a field lying fallow, as well as in another case (*ib.* 109a), Raba made the statement: "It is an asmakta, and asmakta does not acquire," i. e. is not valid. This thought probably occurred to Raba during the fixation of the exorbitant fine named

⁶ Rab, who always represents the old Palestinian conception, says: the Halaka remains as Jose conceived it (Baba Batra 168a).

above, and he coined for it a special term, אַסמַכְתָּא, which in course of time came to comprise also other concepts based on exaggeration (גּוֹמָא), so that an agreement was no longer certain before the asmakta. Hence in post-Talmudic times the formula "not as asmakta" was entered in every contract. The real reformers of rabbinic law are Abaya and Raba, and this is expressed by the הוּיָא דַּבְיִי וְרַבָּא whenever the הוּיָא of Rab and Samuel are mentioned.

In my paper on the penal clauses (*Monatsschrift*, LXIII (1919), 145-6) I stressed the point that only the Babylonian Talmud had coined the concept and name of asmakta and that through this new Babylonian thought it brought into Palestinian law a foreign element, which in no wise could fit in the old legal system. Neither M. Guttman, who published a Hebrew treatise of forty-eight pages on the subject in the *Jahresbericht des Breslauer Seminars* for 1922-23,⁷ nor Zeitlin took cognizance of my treatise published ten years earlier. One should also read, not only write. If everyone begins *de novo* Jewish science will never make any progress.

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⁷ Appeared also as a supplement to the third volume of the *Mafteah Hatalmud* (Breslau 1925).

FRENCH GLOSSES IN THE COMMENTARIES OF RASHI¹

WHOLLY final achievements in the field of philology are extremely rare. As such an achievement we may consider Blondheim's work, despite the author's modest estimate of it in his preface (p. IV). It is based on the rich remains of Arsène Darmesteter and constitutes the result of a tremendous amount of work, strictly laid out method, and exemplary precision. The material is clearly and skilfully arranged, the glosses are listed in alphabetic sequence of the transcription, and the manuscript material is carefully collected in the notes. Indices of talmudic passages, of Hebrew and Aramaic catchwords explained by Rashi and of Romance glosses in Hebrew letters conclude the work and enhance its usefulness. Add to this the collection of Rashi's biblical glosses which appeared twenty years ago and one gains a good view of Rashi's wide intellectual horizon and his admirable carefulness in the exposition of the texts handled by him.

A full century has passed since the dilettantic efforts of M. I. Landau. The progress of the science will be appreciated if one compares any one article of Landau's *Marpe Lashon* with the results of Blondheim.

Blondheim speaks in terms of highest praise of the material collected by Darmesteter, which was entrusted to him in 1908 by that scholar's widow, to whom the book is dedicated.

The first volume now before us gives an account of the manuscripts and printed books employed in the undertaking, whereupon follows a list of the glosses alphabetically arranged and numbered. The transcribed glosses are followed by a neo-French translation. In addition, copious notes cite the explained talmudic word and exhaustive variant readings of the glosses which were often very badly handled by copyists and printers. The second volume will contain explanatory matter and non-French glosses.

¹ ARSÈNE DARMESTETER et D. S. BLONDHEIM.—*Les Gloses Françaises dans les Commentaires Talmudiques de Raschi*. Tome premier: Texte des Gloses. (Cet ouvrage forme le fascicule No. 254 de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études). Paris: Librairie ancienne HONORÉ CHAMPION, 1929. Pp. LXXXVI+212.

The book is beautifully gotten up and constitutes a specimen of perfect typography. It is almost wholly free of errors. Rare exceptions are No. 363b קְדָשִׁינָא for כֶּר'; 366 קוּפֶּר for ד; 675n read 677; 693d read מְטוּשׁ; 696n and 917a-b-c read פִּינִים; 986n read יִיבֵא. To 510 I might remark that *forferez* is not *tussilago* but *Sonchus olegaceus*, and to 730 that *murfetue* is clearly *Mauerfellen*.

IMMANUEL LÖW

Szeged

THE RELATION OF GOD TO MAN IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

THE rabbinic maxim, "Only in the relationship of man to God can Fear and Love be united," might serve as a fit text for Professor Hempel's stimulating and illuminating study. With a complete mastery of the vast literature on the Bible, and with an unusual understanding for the problems of comparative religion, the author pursues his investigations into the origin and development of the prophetic teachings. He accepts Moses as the living founder of the people of Israel and their religion, but proceeds to show how much in the prophetic word can be best understood against the background of pre-Mosaic tradition which certainly remained alive among the people. He devotes the first book to an interesting description of the element of reverence in Judaism, and shows how it was altogether compatible with the sense of Divine nearness equally emphasized in the prophetic word. From this point he proceeds in his succeeding books to a detailed analysis of the conception of Divine omnipotence, a discussion of the biblical conception of prophecy, a most fascinating summary of the metaphorical and anthropomorphic allusions to God, and finally an appreciative understanding of the relation of God to the individual. "The greatest offering that Israel made to God," he says describing the prophetic historiography in one of his many succinct, pregnant and stimulating sentences, "was the sacrifice of its pride in its own past in order to justify Him and His righteousness." (p. 124)

Even the reader who is not well acquainted with the problems of Bible criticism will find the book readable and suggestive. With such readers in mind, the author gives all biblical passages in translation and carefully omits the use of any but Roman characters. The book may well serve not only as a handbook on its own problem but is excellent introduction to general biblical theology.

¹ *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament*. Studie zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit. Von JOHANNES HEMPEL. (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten und neuen Testament, Herausgegeben von RUDOLPH KITTEL, Dritten folge, Heft 2). Stuttgart: Verlag von W. KOHLHAMMER, 1926. Pp. VIII + 224.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DIASPORA²

THE old belief that the Jewish Diaspora arose merely through the deportations from the Holy Land has long since been rejected by scholars. There were thriving Jewish communities in all parts of the Roman Empire many years before the destruction of the Jewish state in the year 70. In a letter to Caligula, cited by Philo, King Agrippa mentions Jewish colonies³ in "Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria in general and especially that part of it which is called Coelosyria, and also in the more distant regions like Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia, and the furthestmost corners of the Pontus; and in like manner in Europe, in Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and the most fertile parts of the Peloponnesus." He proceeds: "And not only is the mainland full of Jewish settlements, but also the most celebrated islands, Euboea, Cyprus and Crete. I say nothing of the lands beyond the Euphrates, for all of them—except a small portion—Babylon and the prosperous satrapies around that land, have Jewish inhabitants." It is natural to suppose that these settlements were built up by Jewish merchants traveling about in various parts of the world. Georg Rosen, Prussian consul in Palestine for fourteen years in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, developed a new hypothesis, according to which the Jewish Diaspora was built up large through converts to Judaism, primarily from among the Phoenician traders. This daring theory was described by him in a manuscript which in the course of his wanderings was destroyed. He immediately began to re-write it from memory, but died before he could complete it. His son, Friedrich Rosen thereupon undertook the study, and in 1921, obtained the co-operation of Professor D. Georg Bertram of Giessen, to help him put the work in final form. The authors divide their argument into three parts. The first part is devoted to a description of the community of interests, language, fundamental religious ideas, ceremonial institutions, and race between the Jews and the Phoenicians. It then proceeds to show that ancient Israel regarded its religion as universal, and that conscious

² *Juden und Phönizier*. Das antike Judentum als Missions-religion und die Entstehung der jüdischen Diaspora. Von GEORG ROSEN. Neu bearbeitet und erweitert von FRIEDRICH ROSEN und D. GEORG BERTRAM, o. Professor an der Universität Giessen. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1929. Pp. VIII + 185.

³ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 36 (ed Cohn, p. 207).

attempts were made to win proselytes to it. The third part is devoted to a collection of whatever facts are known about Jewish and Phoenician settlements in various parts of the world, and evidence is cited to show that an amalgamation between them was likely.

Through the course of their argument, and particularly in the first part, the authors show much ingenuity and erudition, and offer many suggestive and illuminating remarks. But with regard to theory itself the verdict of the reader at the end of the column, can hardly be more enthusiastic than: "Interesting but Not Proven." The many facts marshalled only indicate the possibility, hardly the probability, that the Jewish Diaspora consisted mainly of Phoenician proselytes. And yet as is so frequently true with books proposing novel theories, even the skeptic reader is thankful for the facts accumulated and some of the sub-theories advanced.

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EPIDEMIOLOGY AND CONTROL OF MALARIA IN PALESTINE¹

TUBERCULOSIS and cancer are generally considered the most terrible diseases that affect mankind in temperate climates. In tropical and sub-tropical countries malaria deserves the same notoriety because of the enormous loss of life for which it is responsible, the grave invaliding which it causes and since it retards the physical and mental development of children and adolescents. This disease is caused by a very small, microscopical animal called Plasmodium, which lives in the blood where it subsists on those elements essential for the life of man, which are contained in the red blood cells. These parasites continue multiplying in the red blood cells producing a poison which causes chills, fever, profuse perspiration, accompanied by severe headache, and a feeling of acute illness. The patient may be delirious or become comatose. With the continuance of the disease he becomes aemic and more and more incapacitated for work and finally a chronic invalid.

There are three kinds of malaria. In one named tertian or benign tertian the attacks begin every forty-eight hours, in another every seventy-two hours which form is known as quartan. The third form is known by a variety of names such as malignant malaria, aestivo autumnal fever or cerebral malaria, etc. In this, the most dangerous of all forms, the fever is continuous and the patient may die in coma or convulsions.

The parasites of malaria are transmitted from man to man by mosquitoes but it is only by special kinds of mosquitoes called *Anophelines* that the disease can be spread. Experts in entomology who have studied mosquitoes know how to differentiate the dangerous anophelines from those mosquitoes which do not carry malaria. When the anopheline mosquito sucks blood from a patient with malarial parasites, some of the latter after changing their appearance in the stomach of the mosquito multiply and reappear in enormous numbers in the insect and then accumulate in its biting proboscis. This multiplication takes a varying

¹ *The Epidemiology and Control of Malaria in Palestine.* By ISRAEL J. KLIGLER. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1930. Pp. XV+240.

number of days in different climates, but when it is completed, if the infected anopheline bites another person, it injects the parasites into his blood and so infects him with malaria. The anopheline mosquito lays its eggs in various kinds of water collections. These eggs on hatching liberate worm-like little animals called larvae which feed in the water and grow in size. After a varying number of days they become changed into pupae which are more rounded and which do not feed. Inside the pupa the new mosquito develops and after two or more days it emerges as a new born insect.

Year after year the malaria carried by these insects is allowed to injure or kill large populations despite the fact that many years ago Ross's experiments showed the disease to be preventable. This has been clearly shown by Gorgas' work in Panama and Watson's work in Malaya. In both countries it was demonstrated that though the cost of initial measures of prevention was expensive, this was entirely disproportionate to the economic benefit which eventually resulted. In the one case the Panama Canal was built, in the other an extensive area threatened with ruin became profitable, while in both places the fear of a dreadful disease was practically removed from the community.

The position in Palestine at the present time is comparable to both Panama and Malaya before a thorough campaign against the disease was started in these countries. Throughout the ages Palestine has had an evil reputation for malaria. This notoriety is well deserved and General Allenby was cognisant of it. With his usual foresight, realizing that he had more than the human enemy to deal with, he prepared a well organized force of experts and field staff to take charge of malarial prevention in the area of each advance of his troops. Those who read the numerous papers that have been reviewed in the "Bulletin of Tropical Diseases" on the anti-malarial work done in Palestine during Allenby's command and from then till the present time will realize the wisdom of the General's attitude in this matter and the urgent need for thoroughgoing measures now and in the future.

The recent publication by Israel J. Kligler on the "Epidemiology and Control of Malaria in Palestine" puts in a clear and readable form the problem as it exists today. While the work is chiefly concerned with the situation amongst the Jewish community, it is of importance for all interested in Palestine. The lucidity with which the report is written should make it of interest to the lay public as a narrative as well as to the medical profession from the standpoint of scientific endeavour.

Professor Kligler, who is director of the department of hygiene of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, is also director of the malaria research unit which had its beginning through the wisdom and aid of Mr. Bernard Flexner, through whom the Joint Distribution Committee of America took over the project and provided a two years budget.

Those who read this work will see that much has already been accomplished in combating the malarial menace and it will be clear that every effort should be made to further and develop the present work. The problem of malaria is a vital one on which the success of Jewish settlement in Palestine largely depends. The co-operative effort of the Jewish Community will not only do much towards promoting its own well being but will be evidence of a definite desire to contribute to the well being of the other races with whom they live. And further, the successful control of malaria in Palestine would offer another spectacular instance of the fact that malaria can be controlled and such evidence should be of benefit to mankind at large in the tropics. Kligler shows that in view of the fact that Jewish immigrants to Palestine are mostly settled in the damp and swampy areas, interest in this disease is especially important to them. This is so because while malaria which is most prevalent in such areas continues, no serious progress can take place and also because once clear of the infection these same areas should become the most productive since the very waters which at present are only a menace would, in many instances under suitable control, become a valuable source of irrigation for agricultural and other purposes.

It has long been realized that in each country malaria is a local problem requiring special measures for the different localities. In no country is this more true than in Palestine. On the coast the problem is one of marshes of greater or less extent, on the other hand towards the foothills the damming up of rivers and streams by sand drift produces through the formation of pools, a condition quite different but especially serious from the malaria standpoint. In the hills the breeding of malaria carrying mosquitoes takes place in the cisterns erected of necessity to hold water in those areas where ground waters are scarce. Again the whole valley of the Jordan offers a serious difficulty. Here the problem is twofold, that of the flooded areas during the rainy season and that of the holes in the gravel bed beside the river during low water.

No less than eight species of anopheles are known as carriers of the malaria parasite in Palestine. The habits of each of these species of

mosquitoes are often entirely different and all species have to be thoroughly understood before adequate methods can be undertaken to prevent their multiplication.

The three well known parasites *Plasmodium vivax*, *Plasmodium falciparum* and *Plasmodium malariae* are all present. The first two are especially important. *Plasmodium vivax* which is responsible for tertian (American) or benign tertian malaria (European) shows a rise in prevalence in April of each year. On the other hand *Plasmodium falciparum*, the cause of aestivo autumnal or subtertian or malignant malaria, is most prevalent in October and November when it is liable to cause the disease in epidemic form. Unfortunately these parasites do not always obey a seasonal rule and their prevalence or otherwise is subject to climatic variations. In consequence, there may be additional outbreaks of different kinds of malaria according to local variations in weather conditions in the different localities.

To understand these various conditions in preparation for prevention of the disease, an enormous amount of work by skilled persons is necessary. The topography of the country has to be studied as well as its weather conditions, the nature of the various ground waters where mosquitoes can breed, the adult mosquito incidence in the community households as well as the larval distribution in the waters, the incidence of malaria amongst all members of the community and the social customs of different races who are neighbors. When these matters are understood the director and his staff have to devise one or other or a combination of the methods in usage for the prevention of malaria depending on his judgment as to which is best. These measures are aimed at mosquito control first by larval destruction by use of drainage, impounding, filling in pools, larvacides such as kerosene, paris green or cresol and the use of mosquito eating fish, and secondly by the destruction of adult mosquitoes in the houses and precincts as an aid to larval destruction. The houses also should be screened and the mosquito net used when possible for sleeping.

For all this work above mentioned the co-operation of the local medical men and the local communities is absolutely necessary. In this Dr. Kligler seems to be fortunate and this is well for it is only by the intelligent assistance of all concerned, based on knowledge of the disease and its contributing causes that the evil can be overcome even with the most intelligent administration and guidance. On the other hand, as experience in Panama, Malaya and elsewhere have shown the ravages of the disease may be kept well within bounds.

At the present time when philanthropists and others interested in Palestine are concerned with political, racial and educational matters, they will do well not to overlook the grave problem which Professor Kligler describes so graphically.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

JEAN EBERSOLT. *Orient et Occident*. Recherches sur les influences byzantines et orientales en France pendant les croisades. Ouvrage illustré de neuf figures dans le texte et de seize planches hors-texte. Paris et Bruxelles: LES ÉDITIONS G. VAN OEST, 1929. Pp. 112+16 plates.

In a preceding volume of the same title the learned author dealt with the Byzantine and Oriental influences on France before the Crusades (comp. this Review, XX, 99). The present volume, quite up to the standard of its worthy predecessor, discusses the same influences on France during the Crusades, i. e., from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, when the commercial and political relations between France and the Orient were more frequent. The author dwells particularly on artistic relations, pointing out architectural forms and ornamental motives borrowed by the Occident from the Orient and perfected by the former in its maturer iconography. The book is amply and beautifully illustrated by nine drawings in the text and sixteen plates at the end.

The Living Mind. Essays on the significance of consciousness. By WARNER FITE. New York: LINCOLN MAC VEAGH (THE DIAL PRESS), 1930. Pp. ix+317.

A series of essays, published heretofore in magazines, on the mind of man and its place in the universe. Subjecting the theories of Behaviorists and Freudians and Neo-Realists to a searching criticism the author endeavors to prove that modern thought has been overhasty in ruling out consciousness as part of reality, that the soul of man under whatever name you wish to call it is still the soul, that to be alive is to be something and to be different.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas including selections from his writings. By C. F. ANDREWS. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1930. Pp. 382.

One of two volumes dealing with the life and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian leader. In the present volume the author delineates, with documentary evidence, the main principles and ideas for which Gandhi has stood in the course of his eventful career. The second volume will deal with the life of Gandhi and will include selected passages from his autobiography.

The Sacred Fire. The story of sex in religion. By B. Z. GOLDBERG. Illustrated. New York: HORACE LIVERIGHT, 1930. Pp. xv+386.

Traces the erotic motive in all religion, beginning with the gross sexual orgies in idolatrous times and closing with the erotic symbolism of the monotheistic religions of today. In his tendency to see sex in every form of faith and worship the author is apparently influenced by the extravagant psychoanalytic theories of Prof. Freud and his followers. The book is well written and beautifully put out. Numerous illustrations accompany the text.

The Saviors of Mankind. By WILLIAM R. VAN BUSKIRK. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1929. Pp. xiv+537.

The Saviors of Mankind is the story of the world's great prophets and their messages to mankind. Comprised in that galaxy are Lao-Tze, Confucius, Gautama, Zoroaster, Aakhnaton, Moses, Isaiah of Babylon, Socrates, Jesus of Nazareth, Saul of Tarsus, and Mahomet. It should be noted that the author views religion as a social phenomenon, a construction growing out of a social situation and designed primarily to produce a social effect. He believes that every great religion is the mental and spiritual reaction of its founder to the actual evils which he encountered in the social mosaic into which he was born. In the light of these principles he passes in review the great saviors of mankind who left their imprint on future ages. The book is written in a plain style and in a sympathetic vein, and is highly interesting.

Die Entwicklung des Priestertums und der Priesterreiche oder Schamanen, Wundertäter und Gottmenschen als Beherrscher der Welt. Ein Warnruf an alle freiheitliebenden Völker von RANDOLPH CHARLES DARWIN. Leipzig: VERLAG VON THEODOR WEICHER, [1929]. Pp. viii+416.

Traces the gradual development of priesthood from Shamanism and exposes its reactionary methods throughout the ages in its struggle for control of mankind. The underlying motive seems to be the Protestant opposition to Catholicism, which, in the author's opinion, threatens even the United States. The writer ignores the fact that clerical influence is also exerted by various Protestant Churches. The book is well written and fitly illustrated.

The Origins of the Druze People and Religion. With Extracts from Their Sacred Writings. By PHILIP K. HITTI. (*Columbia University Oriental*

Studies. Vol. XXVIII). New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1928. Pp. viii+80.

Dr. Hitti, who was born in the Lebanon Mountains and associated with the Druzes there, offers an authoritative study of the Druze people and religion based on original Arabic manuscripts and native sources generally. He discusses the Persian origin of the Druzes in the beginning of the eleventh century, then the Druze theology and its sources, Druze folklore, reaching the conclusion that the immediate origins of the Druze religion should be sought in the multitudinous heterodoxies of the Shi'ah and schools of thought which split early Islam asunder, and the ultimate origins in Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism and Manichaeism. The book is properly indexed and is accompanied by a sketch map of Syria and Palestine.

The Epic of the Old Testament. Selected passages arranged in chronological sequence with their historical background. By ARTHUR H. WOOD. OXFORD: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1930. Pp. xviii+222.

The book, which is strictly logical and very handy, is divided into the following sections: The Beginnings of Things, The Selection of the Chosen People, The Beginning of the Prophetic Order and the Establishment of the Monarchy, The Golden Age, The Kingdom of Israel, The Kingdom of Judah, The Babylonian Captivity, The Exiles' Return—The Persian Ascendancy, The Grecian Ascendancy, The Independence of the Jews, The Roman Ascendancy, Hebrew Wisdom, Appendices and Notes. The text used is mostly taken from the Revised Version, but here and there, especially in the Book of Genesis, the earlier English translations of Wyclif and Tyndale as well as others were employed in their original form. The explanatory notes which connect one section with another, as well as the chronological notes at the end of the book, are instructive and very useful to the student for whom the book is intended.

Selections from Old Testament Literature. Edited by HENRY DAVID GRAY. With Notes Compiled by WALLACE J. VICKERS. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1930. Pp. xvii+706.

A text-book for the literary study of the King James Version of the Old Testament, including some apocrypha. There is a chronological rearrangement of the material, while each section is properly provided with a brief introduction. The book is handsomely printed on fine paper.

A Short Bible in the Authorised Version. Chosen and Arranged by V. J. K. BROOK, A. A. DAVID, W. H. FYFE, A. E. LYNAM. Oxford: BASIL BLACKWELL, [1929]. Pp. xx+348+222.

Selections from both the Old and New Testaments for the instruction of young boys and girls. In these selections the actual wording of the Authorized Version has been kept without any change whatever. No attempt has been made to supply notes or explanations, or to deal with the text critically.

The Book of Psalms. With an Introduction by Professor JAMES MOFFATT. London: COLLINS' CLEAR-TYPE PRESS. Pp. viii+128.

The merit of this edition of the Psalms lies in the excellent paper and clear type of the book, as well as in its artistic illustrations and fine binding.

Vom Werden der biblischen Gottesanschauung und ihrem Ringen mit dem Gottesgedanken der griechischen Philosophie. Rede gehalten beim Antritt des Rektorats der Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg am 12. Juli 1929 von OTTO EISSFELDT (*Hallische Universitätsreden* 42). Halle (Saale): MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 1929. Pp. 18.

An illuminating lecture on the biblical concept of God and its struggle with the idea of God in Greek philosophy.

Geschichte der Offenbarung des Alten Testaments bis zum Babylonischen Exil. Von FRANZ FELDMAN. Dritte, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage. Bonn: VERLAG VON PETER HANSTEIN, 1930. Pp. xi+230.

The third edition of this compact and useful work has been revised and enlarged and brought up-to-date, particularly with regard to the bibliography on the subject.

Auge um Auge. Eine Untersuchung zum Alten und Neuen Testament von B. JACOB. Berlin: PHILO VERLAG, 1930. Pp. vi+144.

A thorough investigation, linguistic and juridical, of the phrase "eye for eye," the so-called *jus talionis* of the Bible. The author, who is an authority on the legal elements of the Bible, endeavors to prove that this biblical phrase never meant sheer retaliation, as is customarily assumed, but, as in the interpretation of the Rabbis of the Talmud, implied indemnification through payment of a fixed sum of money. It is surprising that he does not refer to the *Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide* by the late Judge Sulzberger (Philadelphia 1915, published pre-

viously seriatim in this Review, V, 127-161, 289-344, 559-614), which arrives at the same conclusions concerning the *lex talionis*.

Jeremiah the Prophet. A study in personal religion. By RAYMOND CALKINS. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1930. Pp. xvii+382.

A new appreciation of Jeremiah, the greatest of the prophets, who is styled a "forerunner of Jesus." The author attempts a chronological rearrangement of the entire material, a brief commentary on the text, and an interpretation of the spiritual experience of the prophet throughout his career.

Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Dodekapropheten von NICOLAUS FRIES. (*Einzelsorterbücher zum Alten Testament.* Herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH BAUMGÄRTEL. 5 Heft). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1930. Pp. vii+48.

A very useful vocabulary to the Minor Prophets, based chiefly on the lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl and eschewing innovations.

The Book of Job a Biblical Masterpiece. Interpreted and Explained by Professor NEWTON WRAY. Boston: HAMILTON BROS., [1929]. Pp. 218.

A popular interpretation of the Book of Job, intended for the general run of Bible readers and students and also the great mass of people "who faint and fall under burdens imposed by circumstances beyond their control."

Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandria von EDMUND STEIN. (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 51). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1929. Pp. [4]+61.

Deals with the allegorizing Jewish-Hellenistic literature in general and Philo's allegorical exegesis in particular. The author traces the development of the latter from the former and dwells a good deal on the Hebrew etymologies of Philo, which quite often serve as a criterion for the investigation of sources. He promises a further study on this subject clarifying the relation of Philo to the Midrashic literature.

The Bible and the Immortality of Man. By the Rev. ALEXANDER WISEMAN. London: H. R. ALLENSON, LIMITED. Pp. viii+280.

A fresh investigation of the problem of immortality as developed in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The author subjects to criticism the views of the scientific school of biblical interpretation, insisting

that in the nature of things the soul of man cannot cease with the death of the body. His arguments are based on faith rather than science.

Immortality. An Old Man's Conclusions. By S. D. McCONNELL. New YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1930. Pp. 178.

A searching inquiry into the perplexing problem of life after death by an octogenarian Doctor of Divinity. He advances the premise that there can be no personality without some sort of body. Consequently he endeavors to visualize a kind of adjustment to divine forces in the field of morals which would equip its possessor to develop before death certain aspects of matter unperceived by sense into an immortal body which would be immune to chemical change.

Young Heroes of the Bible by ANNE STODDARD. With an Introduction by S. PARKES CADMAN. Illustrated by ARTHUR ZAIDENBERG. New York: THE CENTURY Co., [1930]. Pp. xv+219.

A beautiful book of stories from the Old Testament, appropriately illustrated by the well-known artist Arthur Zaidenberg, and designed for both children and grown people, who delight in the strange adventures of the picturesque heroes of the Bible. The book is divided into four parts, the first dealing with the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah; the second, with the story of Joseph and his brothers; the third, with Moses, the oppression and the Exodus; and the fourth, with four incidents in the youth of David. A very brief sketch of the history of the Jews completes the volume, which is made attractive also in its exterior.

Bible Primer for the Tiny Tots. By ETHEL FOX. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1930. Pp. viii+102.

The Bible narratives are in very simple English and brief sentences set apart from one another. They are couched for the most part in the first person and are well illustrated.

La Biblia ilustració pels Monjos de Montserrat. XXIII-1: el Gènesi per Dom BONAVENTURA UBACH. Barcelona: MONESTIR DE MONT-SERRAT, 1929. Pp. xi+315.

In publishing a commentary to the entire Bible the monks of the monastery of Montserrat thought it advisable to issue also companion volumes of illustrations to the Bible, of which the present book on Genesis is the first specimen. And a worthy specimen it is, for it is wrought artistically and ornamented tastefully as befits such a volume. The

illustrations are profuse and well chosen from authoritative works on the geography, archeology and folklore of Palestine. They are further accompanied by explanatory texts from the Bible. Maps and indexes enhance the usefulness of the book.

The Bible in Art. A collection of Bible stories which have been represented in painting and sculpture. Chosen and arranged by LOUISE HASKELL DALY. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1930. Pp. xviii+306.

A collection of the stories from the Bible which have been the inspiration of the great masters of painting and sculpture. The stories only are given, not reproductions of the pictures themselves, which might have been expected from the title of the book. This lack of illustrations is a decided drawback.

ROBERT LACHMANN. *Musik des Orients.* (*Jedermanns Bücherei.* Natur aller Länder, Religion und Kultur aller Völker, Wissen und Technik aller Zeiten. Abteilung: Musik. Herausgegeben von JOHANNES WOLF.) Breslau: FERDINAND HIRT, 1929. Pp. 136.

An excellent little treatise on the music of the Orient, meaning the music of Arabia and Persia, India, China and Japan. The author dwells first on the common characteristics of these musical systems, then he proceeds to discuss the points in which they differ from one another. All this is done in a brief way and compact style, so as to cover a vast and complicated subject within the short compass of a hundred pages. Besides the advantage of authority and brevity, attention should be called also to the following fine features: fourteen examples or specimens of Oriental music in European notation, twelve illustrations of players and musical instruments, a brief bibliography, a chronological table, and, last but not least, a subject index.

A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays. By RICHARD RUNCIMAN TERRY. OXFORD: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1929. Pp. vii+206.

A collection of very interesting essays on various phases of Church music and popular song of the Middle Ages and later periods, all written with due authority and a comprehensive knowledge of the subject.

The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose. With An Index of the Biblical Quotations and Citations Arranged in the Chronological order of the Prose Works; another Index of all Quotations and Citations in the

Order of the Books of the Bible; and an Index of the Quotations and Citations in the *De Doctrina*. HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*. Vol. XIV, No. 3). Urbana: THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, 1929. Pp. 176.

Every student of English literature knows that Milton was indebted to the Bible to a large extent. The present monograph traces very minutely and quite thoroughly the biblical quotations and citations in Milton's prose works, showing that in not a few cases the great English writer made use also of the Hebrew text besides its Latin or English equivalent.

Judith in der deutschen Literatur von OTTO BALTZER. (*Stoff- und Motivesgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*. Herausgegeben von PAUL MERKER und GERHARD LÜDTKE. 7). Berlin: WALTER DE GRUYTER & Co., 1930. Pp. 62.

The author traces the Judith motive in German literature of all times and shades, but preferably of the dramatic variety. He admits that his treatment is not exhaustive.

The Virgin Birth of Christ. By J. GRESHAM MACHEN. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, 1930. Pp. vii+415.

According to a universal belief of the historic Christian Church, Jesus of Nazareth was born without human father, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. Dr. Machen investigates the origin of this belief and argues for its validity after a careful study of the historical and documentary evidence.

The Hope of Israel. What Is It? By PHILIP MAURO. Boston: HAMILTON BROS., [1929]. Pp. 261.

Treats of the millenium of Christian theology and the future restoration of the Jews in Palestine.

LINA WAGNER-TAUBER. *Jüdische Märchen und Sagen* dem Midrasch nacherzählt. Leipzig: VERLAG M. W. KAUFMANN, 1930. Pp. 94.

A series of charming tales and legends culled from Midrashic literature and told to children in an easy flowing style.

The Life of Solomon. By EDMOND FLEG. Translated from the French by VIOLA GERARD GARVIN. New York: E. P. DUTTON & Co., Inc., [1930]. Pp. 239.

A fair translation of Fleg's legendary story of the life of Solomon, which, like his life of Moses, reads like a thrilling novel. The story follows along the lines of Prof. Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, IV, 125 ff.

On Eastern Crossroads. Legends and Prophecies of Asia. By JOSEPHINE SAINT-HILAIRE. New York: FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY, 1930. Pp. xii+152.

After years of study and travel in the Far East the author gives us in this book some legends in superb prose concerning Asia's great teachers—Christ, Buddha, Apollonius, and others.

Hebräische Grammatik mit Übungsbuch von HERMANN L. STRACK. Vierzehnte Auflage neubearbeitet von ALFRED JEPSEN. (*Clavis Linguarum Semiticarum*. Edidit HERMANN L. STRACK. Pars I). München: C. H. BECK'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1930. Pp. xii+242.

Strack's well-known and very useful Hebrew grammar is now in its fourteenth edition—an envious record for a text-book of this kind. The changes introduced by the new editor are not significant and concern chiefly the form rather than the matter of the book. Owing to its fine features, such as the German-Hebrew exercises, the vocabulary, and the explanatory notes to the Old Testament text, this may still be said to be the best Hebrew grammar for beginners in the study of the sacred language.

DANIEL PASMANIK. *Qu'est-ce que le Judaïsme?* Paris: LIBRAIRIE LIP-SCHUTZ, [1930]. Pp. 99.

Judaism, the author claims, is not a mere theology like many another religion, but rather a social system, a conception of life and the social forces that go to make up life. Hence Judaism comprises also Jewish nationalism, more specifically Zionism, and, as a corollary, the author is convinced that unless the Zionist ideal is fully realized Judaism is doomed.

Das Blut in jüdischem Schrifttum und Brauch. Nebst ausführlichen Anmerkungen. Eine Untersuchung von ERICH BISCHOFF. Leipzig: LUDOLF BEUST VERLAG, 1929. Pp. 133.

An attempt to establish the truth concerning the use of blood among the Jews through a careful examination of talmudic and rabbinic sources. The aim of the book is to serve as a digest for courts in ritual trials.

חכמה ומוסר. *Belehrung und Mahnung*. Aus nachgelassenen Schriften von SALOMON BREUER. Erster Teil: Genesis. Frankfurt a.M.: J. KAUFFMANN VERLAG, 1930. Pp. xii+108.

The late Rabbi Breuer of the Jewish community of Frankfort was convinced of the efficacy of the sermon and expressed his wish that his sermons be published one day in book form. Hence the present publication which contains the sermons covering the Book of Genesis. The sermons are in the old homiletic style and bristle with midrashic interpretations. Their merit as edifying and instructive literature is unquestioned.

'*The Master*.' The First Michael Friedländer Memorial Lecture. By HERMANN GOLLANZ. Delivered at Jews' College, London, Dec. 10, 1916. Oxford: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1929. Pp. 23.

This lecture, which comes to light thirteen years after its delivery, opens with a glowing tribute to the past Principal of Jews' College and then deals somewhat briefly with Joseph Kimhi's *Shekel Hakodesh* (published by the lecturer in full in 1920), from which some pertinent sayings and maxims are quoted having a bearing on the noble characteristics of the master.

The Kaddish. By DAVID DE SOLA POOL. Second Printing. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1929. Pp. xiii+121.

A timely reprint of a deserving work which has become rare and is in constant demand.

הגדה של פסח עם הערות מאת ח. א. גולדין. ניו-יורק: הוצאת בלוק, תר"ץ. Pp. 64.

Daintily printed, with a number of fine vignettes. The annotations of Mr. Goldin are very scanty.

Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten jüdischen Grabsteine in Mainz. Herausgegeben anlässlich der Rückführung dieser Steine auf den alten "Judensand" von SALI LEVI. Mainz: L. WILKENS BUCHHANDLUNG, 1926. Pp. 48.

A discussion of some of the oldest gravestones in the cemetery at Mayence, in connection with their removal to an old Jewish quarter.

Aus Bonner Archiven. Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde. Zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum der Synagoge. Von ALFRED LEVY. Bonn: 1929. Pp. 32.

Some fresh documents from the municipal archives of Bonn bearing upon the Jewish community there and the synagogue erected about fifty years ago.

Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes von MARTIN PHILIPPSON. Band II. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von IMMANUEL BERNFELD. (*Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums* herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums). Frankfurt a.M.: J. KAUFFMANN VERLAG, 1930. Pp. xi+392.

The first edition of Philippson's Most Recent History of the Jewish People in 3 volumes, covering chiefly the nineteenth century, appeared in 1907-1911, when it was a novelty and quite welcome to the Jewish world. Since then we have been treated to a number of such works on a smaller or larger scale, notably Dubnow's History from 1789 to 1914, likewise in 3 vols., and yet the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums did well in issuing a second edition, enlarged and improved, of Philippson's work, for in certain respects, especially in the history of the Jews in Germanic countries, it is still the best book in existence, and undoubtedly a long life will be vouchsafed to it for this if for no other reason.

Jüdische Zeit—und Streitfragen von MEIER STEINHARDT. Frankfurt a.M.: J. KAUFFMANN, 1930. Pp. 111.

A rechauffé of journalistic articles written during a lifetime on various questions of interest to German Jews. Some of them are still of some importance, though on a whole they may be said to be somewhat stale and antiquated, owing chiefly to the change of conditions brought about by the World War.

RENÉ GUYON. *Réflexions sur la Tolérance*. Paris: FÉLIX ALCAN, 1930. Pp. 116.

A defence of tolerance in its various aspects and a denunciation of intolerance throughout the ages.

ALBERT LONDRES. *Le Juif Errant Est Arrivé*. Paris: ALBIN MICHEL, [1930]. Pp. 313.

A description of the wandering Jew in his various abodes in eastern Europe and his regeneration as Halutz in Palestine, where the Jewish question, in the opinion of the author, seems to find a proper solution.

The Modern Magic Carpet. Air-jaunting over the ancient east. MARIE BEALE. Baltimore: J. H. FURST Co., 1930. Pp. viii+72.

"Four thousand miles of wonders of earth and sky viewed in forty flying hours"—that is the record of this air-jaunting over the ancient East, covering Palestine, Syria, and the whole of Mesopotamia. The account, which is necessarily fleeting, is accompanied by a number of fine illustrations.

Palästina. Die Landschaft in Karten und Bildern. Von ROBERT KOEPEL. Tübingen: J. C. B. MOHR, 1930. Pp. v+174.

A geographical sketch of Palestine consisting of colored maps and vivid pictures with brief explanations. The book is profusely illustrated by striking photographs of landscapes, many of them taken from an aeroplane. Moreover, it is provided with all the requisite indexes and attractively fitted out.

Palästina. Eine Reise ins Gelobte Land von HERBERT EULENBERG. Mit Zweiunddreissig Abbildungen. Berlin: REMBRANDT-VERLAG, [1929]. Pp. 203.

An enthusiastic account of a trip to Palestine and a visit to the holy places, in which the author proves himself sympathetic to the Jews and the Zionist project. The account, which is written in a polished poetical style, is accompanied by numerous illustrations of Palestinian sites and scenes.

JEHUDO EPSTEIN. *Mein Weg von Ost nach West.* Erinnerungen. Stuttgart: J. ENGELHORNS NACHF., [1929]. Pp. 342.

These memoirs, beautifully written, contain the record of a poor Jewish youth from Russian Poland who, through persistent efforts and considerable struggles, attained the envious position of a consummate artist and celebrated painter. Epstein's experiences are highly interesting, especially since they are flavored with Jewish folklore and general observations on Jewish ghetto life during the last decades of the nineteenth century. As might have been expected, the book is artistically presented.

Tchernichovski and His Poetry (with renderings from the Hebrew). By L. V. SNOWMAN. London: "HASEFER" AGENCY FOR LITERATURE, LTD., 1929. Pp. [8]+55.

A selection of Tchernichovski's Hebrew poems in an English guise, together with an appraisal of Tchernichovski's poetic genius which in its line is second to none. The translation, though felicitous here and there, does not reflect the marked plasticity and vibrant potency of the original lines. To appreciate duly this great modern Hebrew poet one must have recourse to the Hebrew original.

Unpastoral Lyrics. By A. BURSTEIN. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING Co., 1930. Pp. vi+69.

A collection of short lyrics, written by a practising rabbi who also wields a trenchant pen. The poems are fine examples of clever light verse, employing puns, conceits, and metrical turns.

Sabbatai Zevi. A tragedy in three acts and six scenes with a prologue and an epilogue. By SHOLOM ASH. Authorized Translation from the Russian Version by FLORENCE WHYTE and GEORGE RAPALL NOYES. Philadelphia: JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 1930. Pp. 131.

A careful translation of Ash's famous play dealing with the great messianic movement of the seventeenth century. The book, which is well mounted, is illustrated by four contemporary prints.

Adam. A dramatic history in a prologue, seven scenes and an epilogue. By LUDWIG LEWISOHN. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, 1929. Pp. x+100.

A morality play preaching the obvious doctrine that adhesion to Judaism is a *conditio sine qua non* for the happiness and social well-being of the modern Jew. Adam is the son of a German Rabbi, who in consequence of a slight at the hands of his schoolmates on account of his Jewishness, runs away and assimilates himself with the Gentile world, trying to wipe out every vestige of his former self. He becomes immensely wealthy and mixes in aristocratic English circles, but he is thoroughly despised everywhere and pathetically wanders through life without friend or sympathizer, a symbol of the wandering Jew. His life is frustrated and in the end he jumps from an aeroplane in which he is crossing the English channel. An epilogue contrasts this futile life with the fertile life and love of Palestinian halutzim who, work-weary and in tatters, watch the dawn of a new and brighter future.

Aaron Traum. By HYMAN and LESTER COHEN. New York: HORACE LIVERIGHT, [1930]. Pp. 413.

A moving story of unusual struggles and tribulations of an immigrant youth in the New York ghetto and his final emergence into the world as a serious student and an accomplished artist. The theme is not new, but the authors have treated it skilfully and artistically, so that the narrative moves along briskly and is always intriguing. Here and there the situation is puzzling, as, for instance, when the protagonist is made to become a xylographer without any previous hint as to his talent in that direction.

MARIE DURAND. *O mon Yid!* Roman. Paris: J. FERENCZI ET FILS, [1930]. Pp. 232.

A novel of purpose, designed to show that love and intermarriage between Jew and Christian may be quite successful, in spite of the prevalent opinion to the contrary.

ד"ר פ. שרנודסקא. לשון וארץ. ספר למוד לבתי-ספר, לשעורי ערב ולמתלמידים. ברלין: הוצאת ראובן מס, תרפ"ח. Pp. 120.

A Hebrew text-book for beginners, the material of which deals exclusively with modern life in Palestine, especially in the Jewish colonies. It is profusely illustrated and has many other attractive points, so as to make it popular with all kinds of students.

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MORE ABOUT ABRAHAM B. HIYYAS PHILOSOPHICAL TERMINOLOGY

By ISRAEL EFROS, Buffalo

THIS sequel to my *Studies in Pre-Tibbonian Philosophical Terminology*, I. *Abraham bar Hiyya, the Prince*, printed in *J.Q.R.*, N.S., XVII, 129-164, 323-368, is based mainly upon two sources that were not included among our author's five major works which constituted the basis of my study. These sources are: (1) an epistle to Judah b. Barzillai in defense of astrology, published by Z. Schwartz in *Schwartz Festschrift*, pp. 23-36 (herein cited as Ig), and (2) fragments from an encyclopedic work known as *Yesode ha-Tebunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah*—to which Professor Alexander Marx has kindly referred me—published by Steinschneider in *Ha-Mazkir*, VII, and republished in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 388-404 (herein cited as SS). Both writings, especially the encyclopedia, abound in new terms, in old terms invested with new meanings, and in new combinations of terms.

This study also contains some amplifications and corrections of my previous article, and an asterisk will indicate the term included herein for further discussion.

בְּעֵלֵי אַבְרָא אֱלִטְלִי־צִמְמָא (Ar. طليسات translated by A. as *talismanists*). When a certain planet enters a certain constellation or sign, the talismanists engrave the image of the sign, in corresponding metal,¹ which reenforces the influence of the planet if beneficial, and nullifies it if harmful. They know when the

¹ Comp. *Shebile Emunah*, p. 37, where the seven metals are enumerated as corresponding to the seven planets.

influence of any object waxes or wanes. They constitute the third class of idolatrous astrologers. Ig. 31. In the Bible they are called מכשפים Ig. 32. Comp. *Moreh* III. 29. p. 42 וחלקו המוצאים והאקלמים לכוכבים. Also *ib.*, p. 43. ואלו אשר הם נמצאים אצלנו יכללו רוב דעות הצאב"ה. ומעשיהם. . . בנין היכלות ועשות הצורות מן המחקות והאבנים. Comp. Ibn Ezra on *Exod.* II 10; Maimonides, *Perush ha-Mishnayyot* on *Abodah Zarah* III; Scharastani (Haarbrücker), p. 244; and Chwolson's *Sabier*, II. 199. Comp. צאב"ה אלטלסמאח referring to Apollonius in *Heb. Ueb.* 845.

'אורקוילה or אבן אסחק בן אורקוילה' to whom is attributed a translation of Archimedes' (ארישמידש, ארישמדש) work on numbers from Arabic into Hebrew. SS. 392. But the passage according to Steinschneider is an interpolation.

אפולוניוס *Apollonios*, author of הצורות האלוניות SS. 398.

אור *ray of light*. According to Steinschneider (SS. 402), A. divides the rays of light into rectilinear and broken (א' נשבר), the latter being either thrown straight back (חוזרת אחורנית) or penetrating (א' פשוט) from אל to פשט אל ("invade"). The reflected ray is called א' נזר. A more clear-cut classification we have in Palquera's *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 44, where the rays or שביבים are divided into ישרים or rectilinear, מתעקלים or refracted, משהפכים or thrown straight back as in a mirror, and משתברים or reflected. Rieti in his *Mikdash Me'at*, 15, speaks of ישר נזר משהפך ונשבר.

אבן אסחק v. אורקוילה.

מעלה v. אוש.

צד v. איטימש.

משקל v. אירן.

חכמה v. אלהית.

גלם v. אלוני *conic*. SS. 398. See גלם.

expression. Comp. *Kuzari*, II 78, where it stands for Ar. אלקול. See HN. 2. ממש. כי אין הזמן דבר שיש לו ממש. ואינו כ"א אמירה (בכ"י אמידת) מעמדת הנמצאות ואם אין שם נמצאות אין שם אמירה שהזמן תלוי לא דברו בו אלא באמידה: 9: *Responsa*, (Venice 1545) Resp. 9: (בהוצ' ווין, תקע"ב ובשבילי אמונה לאלדבי 195: באמידת המשכת הענין... ולפי שאין אמידה (בשבילי אמונה: אמידה) ידועה אצלנו רק בהצטרף אל הזמן.

חכמה v. אנושית.

אצ' אלחיל v. אצחאב אלאסחאר.

אצ' are translated by A. (also called אלאסחאר) *אצחאב אלחיל* as *q.v. מצרדים* and בעלי הצדדין at the proper time gather herbs, seeds, and fruits, and know the potencies of all their gleanings. They store them until necessity arises; and then they mix those herbs and fruits for which the time is suitable, so as to strengthen certain forces and weaken others. Both the gathering as well as the mixing are accompanied with the muttering of some unholy and diabolical incantations. These sorcerers constitute the fourth sect of *idolatrous* astrologers (see כלדי). The corresponding Biblical term is חרטומים Ig. 32.

שרשים v. אקלירס.

אבו אסחק v. ארישמדש.

arithmetic SS. 391. See *hokmah*. In an interpolated passage in SS. 392, we have ארטימיטיקא and אריטמיתיקא.

ואצעי אלוצאייא "followers" of idolatrous lawgivers (נמשכים Heb. making images and offering sacrifices to the stars. They belong to the first class of *idolatrous* astrologers, and are called in the Bible כשדים Ig. 31, 32. See כלדיים.

צד v. אחימש.

מבואר *clear, obvious*. SS. 392. But Steinschneider thinks the passage an interpolation.

בינה *physics*. SS. 403. So also Anatoli, in his *Malmad ha-Talmidim* p. 128b. See also references in Steinschneider's *Jewish Literature*, p. 351 and *Heb. Ueb.* p. 3, where the term is applied to mathematics. See *hokmah*.

בן רשד *The three lines in SA II, where this name strangely occurs, are missing in the three MSS. in the possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

דעת v. בעל דעת.

צד v. בעלי הצדדין.

אבא אלטליצמאח v. בעלי התמונות.

ביצני *oval*. SS. 397.

ראשי ב' v. בריח.

גובר *ruling*, being the lord of the ascendant, as is the planet within the sign of the zodiac situated on the eastern horizon at any particular moment (e. g. birth). Ig. 25.

גבורה *physics*. SS. 403. See *hokmah*.

ג' מעלה *material bodies*. SS. 391, 394. Comp. ג' מולד.

גדולים *magnitudes*. SS. 396. Harizi uses this term in the *Moreh* for Tibbon's coined שיעור בעל, for which see פירוש מהמלות זרות. See PI. .

גזרה *planetary forecast or influence*. Ig. 30.

גיאומטריא SS. 391.

גלגל המזלות v. כוכבי שבת *.

גולם אלוני *conic body* (acorn-shaped). SS. 397.

גלמי החרוטים *cones*. SS. 397. Also גלמי המצבות *cylinders*. SS. 397. גולם חרוט.

גלומה v. זוית.

גס v. מחקר.

ג' נדבק ב' *based on, in harmony with*. Ig. 31.

דבר v. *hokmah*.

מדבר (corrupted, according to Steinschneider, for דבר) v. *hokmah*.

דימומוס (an unknown name). SS. 399.

דמיון *image* (used for magical purposes). Ig. 31, 33.

דעת *conscience*, or *ethical judgment*; called by Aristotle *φρόνησις*. See *hokmah* and quotation s.v. דעת. See Rosin, *Ethik des Maimonides*, p. 32, who notes that the term דעות in Maimonides' הלכות דעות is used in an ethical sense, so that the title means laws concerning character.

דעתן *conscientious* or *ethical person*. SS. 403 ובדעת זו חכמה אנושית אשר היא יסוד שלישי כי דרך העולם לקרוא למי שהוא מכוון בכל דבריו וזריו בד'א ולחת חושיה ועצה לבני עמו הוא דעתן ובעל דעת.

מעלתם ודקדוק הענינים אשר היא חוקרת SS. 403 *subtlety*. דקדוק עליהם.

ישוב v. דרך.

חשבון v. דרכי חשבון.

הכרחי *necessary*. SS. 392. But the passage is an interpolation according to Steinschneider.

הנדסה v. *hokmah*.

ואצעי אלוצאיי *lawgivers* who institute star-worship and are the leaders of what A. calls נמשכים or the first class of idolatrous astrologers. Hebrew: מיסדי הנימוסים. Ig. 31.

זוית גלומה (opp. to 'ז שטוחה) *solid angle*. SS. 401.

זוית ישרה (v. 'ז שטוחה) *plane angle*. SS. 396.

אור v. נזור.

חושי הגוף SS. 403.

חזרת החלקים *reducing fractions*. SS. 395.

אצחאב v. אלחיל.

חכמה A. divides philosophy into four sciences: (1) ח' היצורית mathematics and logic, (2) ח' האלהית physics, (3) ח' המדינית ethics, (4) ח' האנושית theology or metaphysics. SS. 384.² Sciences also

² Comp. Anatoli, in his *Malmad*, p. 142b, who takes the four principal streams, into which the river, going out from Eden, is divided, as re-

fall more generally into *ח' עמלני* (v. *עמלני*) and *ח' שכלי* or practical and theoretical, the former referring to *ח' אנושי* or ethics. SS. 403. This classification seems to follow closely that attributed to Aristotle, according to which all sciences fall into three general classes: (1) theoretical or *θεωρητική* consisting of physics, mathematics, and metaphysics, (2) practical or *πρακτική* consisting of politics, economics, and ethics, (3) productive or *ποιητική* or *ars mechanica* (see Wolfson in the *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*). It has, however, this Platonistic trace that it groups mathematics with logic, thus showing that it regards the former as well as the latter as a preliminary study or a propaedeutic. Comp. Anatoli, in his *Malmad ha-Talmidim*, p. 128 and also p. 38, who likewise includes, under mathematics, geometry, arithmetic and logic, all of which disciplines train the mind for the study of physics or *בינה* (q.v.). Comp. Ibn Ezra on Exod. 31; 3.

That our author assigned this role to the science of mathematics is evident also from the following passage in SS. 402: *חכמה גדולה* (i.e. mathematics) *ואעפ"י שהיא מוסרת (ח' המוסר) את לבו ודעתו של אדם כלפי הבינה אין נאה להאביר כל ימיו בלמודה . . . אבל יספיק לו ממנה מקצתה כדי שינהיג בה את לבו להבין שאר החכמות שאחריה . . . שלמודה צורך וחובה ללמוד שאר החכמות . . . אבל יהיה מנהיג*. See also SS. 403: *וחכמת המספר הוא היסוד הראשון המעיין בראש החכמות*; *this will throw light on the following almost similar passage from Barzillai's commentary on S. Y. (quoting 'Al-Mukammas'), with which Wolfson (l.c., 269) has some difficulty* *המעלה האמצעית ח' המוסר והשכל המאמצת דעות*

referring to the well-known triplet *ומדורות ושבעות ואלהיות* and to the *חכמה* included in the commandments of the Torah.

“and the middle stage is the science of mathematics and logic (comp. A.’s ח’ הדבר (המוסר וח’ הדבר) which strengthens the opinions of men and guides them to understanding (or, perhaps here also, “to physics”),” i. e. it is a disciplinary and auxiliary science. Palquera also in his *Mebaqqesh*, p. 126 writes about mathematics המחשבה לחדש³ כי תכליתן. Similarly on p. 133, he refers to both mathematics and logic הצעות. Anatoli, in his *Malmad* p. 128, includes logic under mathematics in the following statement: החכמות הלמודיות הכוללות חכמת השעור חכמת המספר חכמת הדבור שהן תחבולה לחדר השכל ולהשכיל ולדעת האמת בח’ הטבע.... וקרא לטבע בינה.

The very term ח’ המוסר indicates its part among the sciences. Like its Arabic equivalent ادب, by which it is usually translated in the Bible, it means *morals* as well as *learning* or *discipline*; and hence, like the terms μαθησις and رياضی, تعلیم, מורה, הרגל, שמוש, למודיות (see discussion of these terms by Wolfson, *l. c.*, pp. 268, 270, and in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, III, 372), it denotes that “learning,” mental discipline, propaedeutic (ראש החכמות ותחלתן) SS. 403), which is known as mathematics. It is also called חכמת המספר and חכמה. Anatoli, in his *Malmad ha-Talmidim*, p. 128b, also applies *hokmah* to mathematics⁴. Comp.

³ Read perhaps לחדר. Comp. Anatoli, in his *Malmad*, p. 128b, stating that the aim of mathematics is השכל לחדר where we should also read לחדר. See also *Ibid.* pp. 38, 165.

⁴ Ibn Ezra in Exod. 31, 3 defines *hokmah* as the forms contained in the rear of the brains; *tebunah* and *binah* as the intermediary form, between *da'at* and *hokmah*, located in the middle fissure of the brains; and *da'at* or perceptions—in the front fissures of the brains. He gives the Arabic for *da'at*—ألفכريه, for *tebunah*—ألفכريه, and for *hokmah*—ألفכريه. Comp. the Platonic idea that mathematics is the intermediary or connecting link between sensible thought or opinion or perception, all having for their object the phenomenon, and pure thought having for its object the Idea (Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, I, 204; Plato, p.

Zeller, *Plato*, p. 219: "By *διάνοια* or *ἐπιστήμη*, Plato means (as Brandis observes) exclusively mathematical sciences." Similarly סוד, which in medieval *piyyut* is sometimes parallel to למד (comp. מסור חכמים ונבונים), would also mean mathematics; and hence Steinschneider in SS. 402, is inclined to correct חכם מוסרי או סודי by חכם מוסני או סורי. Perhaps the term may be explained as a synonym of יסוד with which it is often associated (see SS. 394); so that it would denote either the *foundation* of all sciences (ראש החכמות) or the cosmic foundation and principle. For, according to the Pythagorean doctrine, which left a strong impression on the mathematics of that period, all numbers go back to one (*μονάς*) which is called the secret of creation (v. *ib.* האחד שהוא יסוד המספר והוא). Indeed, all numbers constitute the universal principle (comp. Palquera's *Ha-Mebaqqesh*, 108: (החשבון מהחלות הנמצאים). Perhaps, therefore, the Talmudic סוד העבור and סוד הלבנה should be taken to mean the mathematics of intercalation and the mathematics of the lunar calendar. However, like some of the previously mentioned terms, סוד seems to have acquired the general meaning of *hokmah* or science. See SS. 444.

Mathematics embraces the Pythagorean quadrivium¹ i. e. (1) ח' המנין Ar. *עלם אלעדד* or arithmetic (which is תחלת כל החכמות because even the child's mind can grasp it. SS. 391); (2) ח' השעור Ar. *הנדסה* or geometry; (3) ח' הנגון Ar. *עלם אלתאליף* or music; (4) ח' הכוכבים Ar. *עלם אלננום* or astronomy;² (5) ח' המראה, or optics, is a branch of geometry. This science has two parts: the

216). This would make *binah* (q. v.) and *tebunah* to stand for mathematics. See *Heb. Ueb.*, p. 3, for similar usages.

² See Ig. 29, where this science is made to include both astronomy and astrology.

physical and the mathematical, the former studying the *quality* of optics or the nature and manner of vision, and the latter—the *quantity* of optics or the measure and distances of things seen. SS. 401. The process of vision may be explained in one of two ways: either as a light emanating from the eye toward a certain object or as a form of the object carried by the light of the air to the surface of the eye and to its humors (*ib.*). The first view is that of Pythagoras, Plato (who proposed the compromising theory of a synauegia, or a meeting of the rays of sight from the eye with the rays of light from the object seen), Damianus, Galen (who substituted for sight-rays a sight-pneuma in the eye which touches the air and so comes in contact with the body), and the Arabian Alkindi; and the second view is that of the old Atomists—especially Empedocles, Leucippus, and Democritus—Aristotle and the Arabian Alhazen (see Emil Wilde, *Geschichte der Optik*, I, 6-77; Bjornbo and Vogl, "Alkindi, Tideus, and Pseudo-Euklid," in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften*, XXVI 3, 47-49). Steinschneider's published fragment does not indicate whether A. takes sides on this question. It is true, he speaks of האור היוצא מן העין, but there he is, as Steinschneider observes, borrowing from Euclid; and "in the case of Euclid and other mathematical writers, references to rays emanating from the eye can scarcely be looked upon literally" (Ernst Mach, *Principles of Physical Optics*, Dutton, p. 8). Other medieval Jewish thinkers are more committed. Thus on the side of the first view we have Gabirol,⁶ and on the other side we have Abraham Ibn Ezra (who writes that the causes

⁶ See the poem "Keter Malkut" in *Gabirol*, ed. Davidson, L. 97
העין and see also *ib.*, p. 3.

of eye-sight are the images reflected in the pure air),⁷ Abraham Ibn Daud,⁸ Palquera,⁹ and Gerson b. Solomon.¹⁰

A. states the following propositions which lie at the foundation of the science of optics and which, as Steinschneider notes, are taken from Euclid's optics. (1) Light emanates from the eye in rectilinear rays and moves toward an object. (2) Every ray has a corresponding point in the field of vision (נכח) so that there are as many points of vision (נכחיים) as there are rays of sight. (3) These rays emerge from the eye and diverge so as to form a cone, the apex of which is at the eye and the base at the object. (4) That which is reached by the luminous ray is seen; and that which is not reached by it is not seen. (5) Anything seen by the eye at a certain angle may reach a point where it is no longer seen. (6) Whatever is near the eye appears in one magnitude. (7) The greater the angle at the apex of vision, the larger the appearance of the object. Comparing these propositions with those of Euclid, we find that A's first proposition corresponds to Euclid's first; A's second may be inferred from Euclid's second and theorem I; A's third to Euclid's second; A's fourth, to Euclid's third; A's fifth is an implication

⁷ Ecc. 1, 8: סבות ראות העין התמונות שהם מתדמות באויר הוך.

⁸ *Emunah Rammah* (ed. Weil), p. 28: ומתאנוי שיהיה בתכלית הבהירות כדי שיוטבעו בו הצורות הנראות.

⁹ In his *Mebaqqesh*, p. 115, he cites the first view under the name of Plato and refers to the חכמי הטבע who disproved it by pointing to the fact that the eye needs an air medium in order to see, and also by other evidences. In his *Sefer ha-Nefesh*, p. 6, he adopts the second view which he describes with some detail.

¹⁰ In his *Sha'ar ha-Shamaim* (1875), pp. 53-54, he discusses the Plato-Galen view and its proofs and the Aristotle-Averroes rebuttal. The whole section is reproduced verbatim with some abridgement and transposition in Aldabi's *Shebile-Emunah*, pp. 72-73. On Aldabi's plagiarism, see *Heb. Ueb.*, p. 17.

of Euclid's theorem 3; A.'s sixth is not clear;¹¹ A.'s seventh corresponds to Euclid's fourth. It should be observed that our author's emphasis on "points of vision" shows that he follows Euclid in opposition to Ptolemy and Alkindi that the base of the cone of vision is not continuous but presents a number of lacunae, so that a small object like a needle falling between two rays of sight will not be perceived. These lacunae grow in magnitude in proportion to the distance of the object from the eye because the divergence between the rays of the cone of vision becomes greater. (Bjornbo and Vogl, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51). It may also be added that the Arabian Alhazen attacks Euclid's fourth, or A.'s seventh proposition, on the ground that it leaves out of consideration the supposed distance, as in the case of heavenly bodies which appear larger at or near the horizon owing to the fact that they appear at a greater distance, measured by the intervening terrestrial objects, while the angle of vision does not change (Wilde, *op. cit.*, I, 75).

Optics is also divided into חכמת המראה הישרה or catoptrics, i. e. the study of light-reflection, and ח' המראה המעוקלת or dioptrics, i. e. that of light-refraction. SS. 402. See אור.

¹¹ וכל הקרוב אל העין יראה על שיעור אחד. It may however correspond to the final proposition in the beginning of Euclid's *Optics* according to a variant reading given in *Euclidis Optica*, ed. Heiberg (Lipsiae, 1895), Prolegomena XXXV, "omnes visus equiveloces esse, qui secundum equales angulos deferuntur, non autem sunt equiveloces, qui secundum inequales lineas deferuntur." And in a variant of the proof of theorem I, we find (*ib.*) "omnes visus transpositii secundum equales lineas sunt equiveloces." The meaning therefore of our proposition would be that all objects equidistant from the eye are seen with the same speed. The expression על שיעור אחד may also mean *with the same perspicacity*, and in that case the proposition would correspond to Euclid's second theorem "Aequalium magnitudinum in distantia iacentium propius iacentia perspicacius videtur."

In general, geometrical works fall into two classes: those dealing with surfaces and those dealing with intrinsic qualities of bodies (e. g. the study of weights) SS. 398-399.

Other terms for physics ה' היצורית in SS. are: ח' חבונה and ח' היצורים , בונה , גבורה ($q.v.$). The terms for ethics are ח' האנושית , $\text{ח' האנושית וח' המדינית}$ ($q.v.$). This latter term corresponds to the Aristotelian $\phi\rho\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, or practical wisdom, which designates that part of the *Politics* which deals with individual morality (cf. Zeller, *Aristotle* I. 186; II. 107). Ethics is also designated by עושר SS. 403.

As for metaphysics (ח' האלהית), A. also calls it ח' אלהות and ח' השכל for the reason that the objects of this study are entirely intellectual and hidden from our senses. SS. 403. The term ח' השכל may also signify that it is a study of Intelligences. Comp. ח'ה introd.: $\text{ח' האלהות והוא דעת האל ית' ודעת תורתו ושאר המושכלות}$: כנפש וכשכל וכאישים הרוחניים. He also calls it רוח because it necessitates the guidance of the Divine Spirit. Comp. Aristotle, *Metaphysics.*, 928b, 28: "the possession of it (i. e. Metaphysics) might be justly regarded as beyond human power."

The four branches of science may be arranged, according to A., in two ways (מנהגים): (1) according to the order of study (סדר חיוב בלמוד), metaphysics coming first, because it is too important to be postponed, although most difficult, and then, from the easy to the difficult, mathematics, physics, and ethics; (2) according to the ascending order in rank and in subject matter ($\text{מעלתם ודקדוק הענינים}$), mathematics, physics, ethics, and metaphysics. Our author regards mathematics lowest

¹² Plato does not know the name of Ethics, and uses the term Politics instead (Zeller, *Plato*, p. 166).

and least subtle because it deals with the superficialities of things (על חכלית הנמצאות), while Physics studies the essence of things (על הנמצאות ועקרם). Comp. Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 1026 a10, and see Wolfson, *op. cit.*) who regards some mathematical branches as higher than physics. Metaphysics deals, as already said, with the subtlest beings, which can be mentally grasped only with divine aid. Comp. Aristotle (*ib.*, 982) who argues that metaphysics especially deserves the name *σοφία* because it deals with things "that are difficult and not easy for man to know." See also Zeller, *Aristotle*, I, 184. At any rate, we see that opening the course of study with metaphysics, although designated in *Kuzari* V, 2, as "the way of the Karaites", was not monopolized by them. Hence, Steinschneider's and Kaufmann's proof that Al-Mukammas was a Karaite on the ground that he enumerates metaphysics first, is weakened; aside from the fact that, as Wolfson (*ib.*, 287) points out, Al-Mukammas refers to the order of rank.

חכמת אמת *true science*, as A. explains it, based on true evidence. Ig. 27, 28. See PT s. v. החזרה על האמת and Ginzberg *ad. loc.*

חכמת הכוכבים *general science of the stars*, embracing both astronomy and astrology. Ig. 29. See *hokmah*.

חכמת המספר *mathematics*, SS. 403.

חכמות פילוסופיות *philosophical sciences*, i. e. sciences other than mathematics, which is only a propaedeutic. SS. 402. See חכמה.

חשבון v. חלוק

חלקים *fractions*. See חזרה.

מחנות הלבנה See also Abudraham, on daily morning prayers, p. 42: 'ו. כוכבי לכת וכ"ה מ' הל'. Comp. Judah Mosconi's statement, published by Steinschneider, in his *Gesam-*

melte Schriften, I, 566. Mosconi is opposed to Al-Kindi, who assumed 27 *mansiones lunae*. Each mansion is supposed to take up $13\frac{1}{3}$ מעלות or degrees of the ecliptic which is divided into 360 degrees, and every sign of the zodiac occupies about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mansions. These lunar mansions have different meteorological effects. Comp. Ibn Ezra, on Ecc. 3, 1: וַיֵּאָמֶר כִּי אֱלֹהֵי הַכֹּחַ עֲתִים כִּגְדֹר כֹּחַ צוּרוֹת גִּלְגַּל הַמְּזֻלוֹת שֶׁהַלִּבְנָה נִרְאִית בָּהֶן בְּכָל חֹדֶשׁ.

חסר a *deficient number*, which is greater than the sum of all its aliquot parts (exact divisors), viz. 14 which is greater than $1+2+7$. SS. 393. See עורף מלא.

הגם at first thought Ig. 24. Elsewhere A. uses עין גס which expression occurs also in the *Moreh*. See PT.

חרוט *cone*. SS. 397. See PT. See also גלם.

חושבן *mathematician*. SS. 402. חושבי הכוכבים *astrologers*. Ig. 30.

חשבון מנין במנין v. *infra*.

חשבון מנין במנין *six arithmetical operations*: (1) חשבון מנין במנין multiplication, (2) חלוק מנין על מנין division, (3) קצב מנין להשלים ratio, (4) הפחות מנין ממנין subtraction, (5) להשלים מ' על מ' addition, (6) תוספת חלק על חלק במנין מנין reduction of fractions. SS. 395.

חשבוני *mathematician* (so also Palquera's *Mebaqqesh*, ed. 1924, 104, 108), especially one versed in astrology. The Latin word *mathematicus* also means *astrologer*. Ig. 31.

שח' הכוכבים appearance, concrete shape. Ig. 28. נותנה להודיע מן הדבר העתיד להיות כללי ואינה יכולה להודיע את פרטי ואח טביעות עינו וגופו ממש . . . ואינו רואה טביעות עינו בארץ אבל רואה מינו וכללו.

טבלת הרובע a *quadrant*, i. e. a quadrilateral instrument having a right angle, used for the construction of right angles. HMT 108. The other name of this instrument

כלי הרובע should not be confused with the *quadrans novus* or *quadrans judaicus* (Heb. רובע ישראל) invented in 1288 by Jacob b. Machir and designated in a Hebrew translation by כלי הרובע. (Heb. Ueb. 612).

כדור v. טולקוס.

אבא v. טליצמאות.

geometria v. יומטריה. SS. 395.

ואצעי אלוצאיי v. מיסדי הנימוסים.

אוש v. יסוד.

יסודות The expression "ארבע *four elements* is found in a poem of Sahlal Gaon (11th century) published by Davidson in *Heb. Union Col. Annual*, III, 239. Incidentally the line ועל כל ניב מקודמות רשומות on p. 240, means that "in every letter there are propositions inscribed." Harizi uses the term מקודמת for Tibbon's הקדמה, which see PT.

האמונה ויסודי התבונה ומגדל האמונה the name of an encyclopedic work translated from Arabic into Hebrew by A. See SS. 399, 388-404. It is divided into two מאמרים or treatises: the first corresponds to יסודי התבונה or foundations (i. e. branches) of science (see *hokmah*), while the second is entitled מגדל האמונה or tower of faith, which is built upon those foundations. The first treatise is divided into יסודות and עמודים. SS. 389. Steinschneider thinks that HMT is a part of this encyclopedic work, but Guttman in his introduction to HMT maintains that these are two independent works.

חשבון v. תוספת.

יצור v. *hokmah*. For the derivation of the term, comp. יצור.

על דרך ההנחה והישוב. Comp. מדרך ישוב. SS. 396. *position*. SS. 396. in PT p. 33.

ישר (1) *regularity* of a planet; opp. to נזירה (*q.v.*), or *recession*. Ig. 29. (2) *beneficence*. See כוכבי ישר.

מיושר *a straight line*. SS. 396.

זוית v. ישרה.

כדור *a book on "spheres in motion"* (Ar. כתאב אלכרה by טולקוס or Autolykos (350 B.C.E.). *Heb. Ueb.*, 503. SS. 398.

הכידור והמצבה *a book on the sphere and the cylinder by Archimedes*. SS. 398.

מוזלי הכ' v. כחות.

כוכבים *beneficent planets*. *ישר* *hokmah*. v. 31. *כוכבי נוק* *evil planets*. Ig. 24, 31. *כוכבי שֶׁח* Ibn Ezra (Deut. 7,9) thinks that the *galgal ha-mazzalot* moves at the rate of one degree per seventy, and not per one hundred, years.

מכוון *correct*. SS. 403: שהוא מכוון בכל דבריו.

כלדי *a Chaldean*. The question of the permissibility of consulting a Chaldean is the theme of A.'s *Iggeret* or epistle to Judah b. Barzillai. Marx gives the gist of this *Iggeret* in his "Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology," in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. III. A more detailed account follows. It begins with the contention that astrological advice and warning should be volunteered as well as heeded, as is evidenced by the fact that Samuel assigned, on astrological grounds, favorable and unfavorable days for blood-letting. Ig. 24. It was on this principle that A. cautioned a friend against being married at such an inauspicious time as at the sixth hour on Friday¹³, and incurred the charge of violating the Talmudic principle: "one must not con-

¹³ The calculations of our author become clear by remembering the principle explained by Rashi on Erubin 56a, that the first hours of the Seven days of the week are ruled by the seven planets *כזנ"ש* respectively and that the order of succession of these planets is *כל"ש צמח"ן*. See Ibn Ezra on Gen. 1, 31.

sult Chaldeans." But the truth is that to cast a horoscope is no more reprehensible than to prescribe a drug, as both carry no finality; for the stars exercise their power, not consciously nor voluntarily, but conditionally, subject to the divine command (Ig. 25). Moreover, it is not *heeding*, but *consulting* the Chaldean that is prohibited, for we find that no less a man than R. Akiba heeded a Chaldean's warning. And this prohibition cannot be said to refer to astrology, for many Talmudic passages testify to its permissibility and to its having been an unchallenged practice (Ig. 26). Chaldeanism in so far as it resembles astrology must therefore be exonerated, for the latter is a *true science*. Yet Israel, being the aim of creation, cannot be regarded as subject to planetary influence (אין מול לישאל), for prayer and repentance will automatically nullify an evil aspect (Ig. 27). Comp. Ptolemy's and Thomas Aquinas' assertion that the wise man rules the stars (Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic*, II, 614). As to other peoples, the aversion of a catastrophe necessitates a change in the very position of the planets which rule them. There is, however, this difference between astrology and the Chaldean art: the former makes general forecasts, while the latter goes into details (Ig. 28).

The general science of the stars embraces astronomy (in which some non-Jewish scholars are more proficient than the Jews) and astrology, the latter being pursued by Jews and Gentiles who differ only in so far as the former maintain that the planetary influence goes back to the will of God (Ig. 29). These two sciences are required of the Jew. The prohibition rests on those that are based on idolatry. Such *idolatrous* astrologers fall into the following four categories: (1) star-worshippers called מִסְדֵּי נְמוֹסִים (q.v.) or נְמוֹשִׁים

(*q.v.*). (2) those that call down the planetary powers, called מזילי הכחות (*q.v.*). (3) talismanists or בעלי החמונות (*q.v.*), (4) artificers called בעלי הצדדין (*q.v.*) Ig. 31-32.

Other forms of magic, which the Bible mostly calls קסמים and which may not be designated as חכמה but as מלאכה וערמה, include arrow-throwing, crystal-gazing, liver inspection, as well as declaring that a certain day in the week is good or bad for a certain thing—this is based on observation (נסיין) and not on astrology, for the position of the planets does not give the same indication for a given day in *every* week—and¹⁴ making forecasts on the basis of black circles around the moon, redness near the sun, a raven's croak at night, a cock's crow at night-fall, or a cat's mewing and jumping. All these may be studied but not practiced nor consulted. Ig. 33, 34.

It is these magic practices and the above four categories of idolatrous astrology that the Talmudists had in mind when they prohibited the consulting of Chaldeans.

While the term כלדיים denotes the Babylonian people and all classes of magicians, the term כשדים denotes only the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, who belonged to the class known as מזילי הכחות (*q.v.*) or those that bring down the planetary powers. So that the words כלדי and כשדי have the mutual relation of general and particular terms (Ig. 35). By the way, this may explain the Maimonidean expression כשדיים וכלדיים with which Munk, M. Friedlander, and Marx find difficulty (See. Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 320, n. 16.).¹⁴

¹⁴ Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the whole passage in the letter of the Rabbis of Southern France to Maimonides on p. 348, from וכן אמרו לעולם והאריך רפ"ז to וכן אמרו לעולם seems to be taken almost verbatim from Ibn Ezra on Exod. 2 (where the phrase המעמר הקוצב proves by collation to be a corruption from הקצר (המ' הקצר).

טבלת הרובע v. כלי הרובע.

כריחות (v. כדוריות or some similar term, according to Steinschneider) a book on spheres by תאודוסיוס ומיליאוס i. e. by Theodosius whose work is known in Arabic as פי אלכרה or כתאב אלאכר, and by Menelaus, the Arabic, title of whose work is כתאב אלאשכאל אלאכריה or כתאב אלאכר SS. 398. *Heb. Ueb.*, 315.

כלדי v. כשדי.

ליחות *humors of the eye*. SS. 401. The text has erroneously לוחות.

מדות טובות *virtues*. A. gives us four virtues, manifested in the acquisition of four sciences: metaphysics, mathematics, physics, and ethics; or, psychologically speaking: divine spirit, wisdom, understanding, and knowledge (see *hokmah*). SS. 402. For other classifications of virtues, comp. the Aristotelian five virtues: reason or an immediate cognition of presuppositions of all knowledge, knowledge or a mediate and inferential way of attaining to necessary truths, wisdom or "the union of reason and knowledge in the cognition of the highest and worthiest objects," insight (*φρόνησις*) our author's *da'at*, *q.v.* or conduct, and art (*Ethic.*, book VI, ch. 3-7; Zeller, *Aristotle*, II, 179). See also *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides*, chapter 2, where four purely dianoetic virtues (מעלות שכליות) are enumerated, viz. מהן החכמה . . . ומהן השכל אשר ממנו השכל העיוני . . . וממנו and *Olam Qatan*, שכל נקנה . . . ומהן זכות החבונה וטוב ההבנה p. 38 מדע, צדק, חחלת, ענוה which "four virtues," according to S. Horovitz in his introduction, n. 27, are Platonic.

מדינית v. *hokmah*.

מוסר v. *hokmah*. מוסרי (which Steinschneider reads for מוסני) *mathematician*. SS. 402.

מוילי הכחות v. מוסתנול ביאלקוי.

מושיקא *music*. SS. 391.

כריח v. מיליאוס.

מלא *a perfect number*, which is equal to the sum of all its aliquot parts (exact divisors), viz. $6 = 1 + 2 + 3$. SS. 393. See עורף, חסר.

ממלא *fulfills, actualizes the potentiality of*. SS. 403. Harizi uses this term for Maimonides' מכמל; while Ibn Tibbon uses משלים (constitutes the essence of), which see PT.

מנין v. *hokmah*.

מנטיק v. *hokmah*.

אלאתבאע v. נמשכים.

ממשלת הכוכבים *planetary influence*. Ig. 24.

משקל וחכמת משא a book on weights by אירן or Heron. SS. 399.

נג'ום v. *hokmah*.

נגון v. *hokmah*.

מנהג *behavior, conduct*. SS. 403. Hence תורות מנהגיות (Ar. שראיע סיאסיה) opp. to שכליות 'ח in Kuzari II, 48; III, 11. See also *hokmah*.

מנהיג *pursuing, studying*. Ig. 35.

נודני for נוראני, see *Heb. Ueb.*, 347.

מוילי הכחות v. מוסתנול ביאלקוי.

מוילי הכחות (Ar. מוסתנול ביאלקוי) *those who know the proper time to sacrifice* to a certain planet so as to draw down its power which is to do their bidding and to answer their questions. They constitute the second class of idolatrous astrologers. Ig. 31. The corresponding Biblical term is אשפים. Ig. 32. A. here admits the Arabic root نزل into Hebrew. See *infra*. In *Moreh* III, 29, and in *Kuzari*, I, 79, this art is called הורדת אסתנול אלרוחאניאח, Ar. הרוחניות.

הזיל *to draw down*. Ig. 31. See *supra*.

נזור (r. nizzur) *recession*. Ig. 29. See גזירה.

נקחי a point, in a field of vision, which is touched by a ray of sight. See חכמת המראה s.v. *hokmah*.

נמוסים (2) revealed legislation, cult. See מוסרי נמוסים. See also Wolfson, *Heb. Union Col. Annual*, III, 374.

נופל על applied to. SS. 394. Comp. Ar. יקע עלי. See PT. מצבה cylinder. SS. 397.

סודי (which Steinschneider reads for סורי) mathematician. SS. 402. See *hokmah*.

סוראנים Chaldeans. Ig. 35. See כלדי.

ציר ע"י עגול.

עד' v. *hokmah*.

עדות planetary forecast. Ig. 30, 31.

עודף an abundant number, the sum of the aliquot parts (exact divisors) of which exceeds the number itself. Thus 12 is an abundant number for the sum of its aliquot parts (1+2+3+4+6) is 16. SS. 392. See מלא, חסר.

מעיינים במולות astrologers. Ig. 32.

מעלה degree, or power of ten, articulate number. There are four such powers, i. e. ones, tens, hundreds, and thousands. Comp. *Mebaqqesh*, p. 107 where these powers are called מדרגות. Ibn Ezra in his יסוד מספר "principle or science of number" (v. 310) speaks of מעלות. See SS. 465. A. gives the Arabic term (أُس) and its Hebrew equivalent יסוד SS. 394.

עלים v. *hokmah*.

עמדה duration HN. 2. cf. *עומד (2), PT. p. 95, and Wolfson in JQR, X, 8.

עמלנית practical, as opp. to שכלית or theoretical science. See *hokmah*. This term is clearly influenced by the Ar. الضنائع العملية as opp. to الضنائع العلية a division used "by the Ihwan al-Safa" (see Wolfson, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

חורף v. ענין.

עקומים (which Steinschneider reads for עמוקים) *solids having inclined surfaces*, e. g. conic sections. SS. 398 עקומי SS. 396, *crooked*, according to Steinschneider; but more correctly, *convex*, as opposed to קבוב q.v.

עקר *principle, essence*. SS. 403.

ערך *astrological influence*. Ig. 31.

עושר *ethics*. SS. 403. See *hokmah*.

מתעשתין (b. h.) *Contrive, find a way*. HMT 80.

נעתק The word is also found in the sense of *translated* in Ibn Ezra on Exod., 2. 10, and is also quoted in Talmudic Dictionaries; yet Ibn Tibbon in his *Perush meha-Millot Zarot* claims to have coined the *nifal* of this verb.

חשבון v. פחות.

פילוסופיות v. *hokmat philosophot*.

פנות החכמה *corners, or four branches, of knowledge*. SS. 389.

See חכמה and PT.

פסיקה *decree*. Ig. 24.

נפרד *odd*. Such hours are lucky. Ig. 25.

מתפרד *simple, uncompounded*. SS. 396.

פושט, פשוט *rectilinear, penetrating*. SS. 402. See אור.

פתח *introduction*. SS. 394, 395.

צד *contrivance*. It is sometimes parallel to תחבולה. Thus see HMT. 101 אנו מבקשים צד לדעת את הקו הזה התיכוני HMT 103 אתה צריך אל צד המעשה אשר הראיתך בתשובת הקרקע התלוי בראש ההר . . . אתה צריך בכלם אל צד המעשה והתחבולות אשר עשית בקרקע התלוי בהר אתה צריך אל הצד והתחבולות אשר HMT 104 הראיתך בתשובת הקרקע התלוי בראש ההר או לצד שהוא דומה לו. In *Millot Higgayon*, ch. 3, our term has the kindred sense of *manner* or *modality*. See also PT. We also have the verb צדר meaning *to contrive* or *to*

find a way. Comp. HMT. 79. 104 HMT 108 המבינים דרך האומנות הוא צדו להקל על עצמם . . . ומצדד להוציא מתעשתין In HMT 80, the term is used in this sense. Hence the title ספרי הצדדין in SS. 399 may mean *books on contrivances* or *mechanics* (see *Heb. Ueb.*, p. 230: אַלמכאניקי וְהִי אֶלְחִיל, which subject may be indeed regarded as a division of geometry. Thus, Palquera writes in his *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 48 תחבולות החשבורת והם רבות מהם מלאכת ראשית הבנין Contrivance and magic are related concepts. Hence, in Ig. 32, the term צדדין denotes a form of magic, consisting of gathering and mixing herbs, practiced by the members of the fourth class of idolatrous astrology, known in Arabic as *al-ḥil* (q.v.) and in Hebrew as בעלי צד, also has the two meanings of the Ar. חִיל, i. e. magic and mechanics. Thus in *Moreh* I, 73 for כתאב אלחיל we have ספר התחבולות *a book on mechanics*, while in *Kuzari*, I, 61, we read בצלמיהם ואיליהם ותחבולותם for the Ar. לא מכשפים ולא and in I, 84 מן סחר או חילה for the Ar. מתחבולה means magic.

צד המעשה *contrivance*. See quotation s.v. צד.

צד מצדדים v. צד.

צורה (4) *essence* וגדריו SS. 394.

צורות אלוניות *conic sections*, a book by אבליניוס or Apollonios. SS. 398.

מצוייר *conceived, represented to the mind*. SS. 403. Ibn Tibbon in his *Glossary of Strange Terms* claims to have created this term.

ציר העגול *center*. SS. 396.

צלע (b. h.) *side of a geometrical figure*. SS. 397. It is common in *Mishnat ha-Middot*.

קבוב *cube*. SS. 396. This is how St. takes it. Perhaps it is better to render it by *concavity*, in which sense the term is used in the *Moreh*. See PT. Our author uses עקב* for cube. Comp. קעב for the Ar. כעב in *Heb. Ueb.* 566, and SS. 450. The opposite of קבוב is עקמומי which should be taken in the sense of *convex*.

מקביל *leads, directs*. SS. 403. Ar. اقبل.

החקבץ *to be formed* (an angle). SS. 401.

מוסתנול ביאלקוי v. קר"י.

מקיימת (=משכללת) *constitutes* (the essence). SS. 391.

קצב v. חשבון.

מראה v. *hokmah*.

בריה *diametrical poles*. SS. 397.

טבלת הר' v. רובע.

מרובע There are 18 different quadrilateral figures. SS. 396.

מרגיש ל' *taking into consideration* (parallel to חושש q.v.).

HMT 114. Comp. also Kuzari, IV, 25 יוחר ושהמלאכים

אשד אנפעאלא להא for the Ar. חוששים לה ומרגישים

רכוב *combination*. SS. 394.

כוכבי ש' v. שבת.

להשיב על *reduce numbers*. SS. 395. See חשבון.

שכל v. *hokmah*.

שכלית v. *hokmah*.

משחכל כח מהם בארץ 29 Ig. *reflected, imaged*. See

Perhaps, from the Ar. root. شکل and شکل *to assume*

a shape. For our author's Arabisms, see e.g. מוילי

הכחות. The context does not very well permit to

regard it as a variant of מסחכל. Comp. מחרמות *reflected,*

imaged, in quotation s.v. *hokmah*.

חשבון v. השלים.

שימוש *negotiation, intercourse, conduct*. SS. 403.

שיעור the inclusion of this word in my preface among the terms which Ibn Tibbon in his Glossary claims to have coined, is an error. It is the expression בעל שיעור that Ibn Tibbon there claims to have originated, and I have no record that our author preceded him in this usage. See *hokmah*.

שרשים *Elements*, by אקלידס or Euclid. SS. 398. Comp. ארבעה ש' In Ibn Ezra, on Ecc. 5, 2.

כריתות v. תאודוסים.

תאליף v. *hokmah*.

חכמה *science*. See 'יסודי הח'. Particularly, physics, which is higher than mathematics or חכמה. Also called בינה q.v. SS. 403.

ח' המוסר *limiting surface, superficies*. See SS. 403 תכלית. שהיא חוקרת עליהם על תכלית הנמצאות. See the word in various quotations in my *Space in Jewish Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 67, 69.

תכנית Aristotelian form, essence. SS. 391.

בעלי הח' v. תמונות.

שלמות and תמות. SS. 403. Comp. תמימות *perfection*. SS. 389. A Hebraized form of the mentioned. SS. 389. A Hebraized form of the Talmudical Aramaic אאתני. It may mean, however, *expected, excluded*, (from the Ar. استثنى). The term is used in this sense in the *Moreh*. See ... התנות ב. in PT.

התרפים הם ממשמע תורף הדבר אשר הוא ענינו. Ig. 33. form. תורף. Comp. for the term ענין the expression in HMT 104: צורת הראש ממין צורת החושבת ומענינה. In the *Moreh*, the term, as I attempted to show in PT, has the meaning of *text*, and refers to a direct quotation. Gerson b. Solomon in his *Sha'ar ha-Shamaim* (1875, pp. 81, 82) also used *toref* after a direct quotation beginning with

ח"ל. It is not clear whether our author took the term to mean *text* or *context*. On the other hand, Abraham, the son of Maimonides, evidently uses it in the sense of *gist* or *content*. See his *Milhamot Ha-Shem* (Hanover, 1867) p. 20, ומהנה אתחיל להשיב על תורף דברי אלה, האנשים החטאים בנפשותם ולא אדבר בנוסח דבריהם שאפילו תורף דבריהם אינו כדאי להשיב עליו . . . אלא מפני מעשה שהיה. Comp. astrological explanation of תרפים in Ibn Ezra on Gen. 31, 19.

SAMARITAN DOCUMENTS¹

IN THIS volume¹ Dr. Gaster has published one of the most interesting of Samaritan documents, inasmuch as it is kindred to the vast mass of apocryphal literature dealing with the primeval Biblical story down to Moses. In addition he gives an Arabic-Samaritan Pitron or commentary to the Asatir, which the editor has had turned into Samaritan-Hebrew, and which he presents in parallelism with the Asatir, page by page for both text and translation. And he adds the Samaritan Story of the Death of Moses, which has the character of a climax to the Asatir. The securing of the MSS concerned or of the copies of those in the hands of the Samaritans is due to the diligence and diplomacy of the learned author, whose friendship with the little sect has proved so valuable for our knowledge of them. The Asatir is written in Aramaic. Dr. Gaster argues from the alleged fact that no Samaritan work in 'pure Aramaic' has been written since the third century of our era, Hebrew and then Arabic replacing it, to the effect that so we obtain the *terminus ad quem* of the composition (p. 160). But the text is of quite too unliterary a character and too mutilated to speak definitely of its purity, while indeed it contains Hebraisms and Arabisms. Rather, according to general opinion, Aramaic composition lasted down to the 11th century (see my *Samaritans*, p. 271).

Dr. Gaster has greatly enriched his work by giving a very full apparatus of cross-references to the other similar literatures, and in an extensive introduction has considered their relations to the Asatir. He treats at length its connections with Jubilees, the eldest book (iii) of the Sibylline Oracles, the Tiburtine Sibyl (published by Sackur), the Hellenistic Pseudo-Eupolemos and his *confrères*, the ancient Palestinian Targum, the Adam Books, the Syriac Cave of Treasures, the apocryphal Daniel Apocalypses, the Nistaroth of R. Simeon b. Yochai, etc. In conclusion he comes to the result that "the Asatir precedes by a long time, not

¹ *The Asatir, the Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses,"* together with the Pitron or Samaritan Commentary and the Samaritan Story of the Death of Moses. Published for the first time with introduction, translation and notes by MOSES GASTER, Ph.D., London. Published by the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. 1927. [Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Volume XXVI.] Pp. 352, 59 of text.

easily determined, any of the other pseudepigraphic writings hitherto known" (p. 105), and he feels himself justified in assuming that "this book could not have been compiled later than 250-200 B. C." (p. 160). The reviewer cannot at all admit his arguments. The arid, unoriginal simplicity of the *Asatir* does not reveal it as primary; apocalyptic began in compositions of poetic character, whether the odes of ancient Balaam, or the books of Daniel, Enoch, the Sibyls. Our work is an evident spiritless imitation or weak reflection of an imposing literature, to which Samaritans (n.b. such poets as the Samaritan Hellenist Theodotus) may have contributed, but such contributions are not to be identified to-day. The composer with some traditional or hearsay sources has produced a stupid imitation—and it cannot be said that the Samaritans have made any contributions to the world's literature. That eschatology does not appear is no proof of antiquity, as the Samaritans eschewed that development of belief; hence Enoch is not translated, but dies (chap. 2, 3). There is no original or historical information, the obscure names are helped out by glosses of late Arabic words. But the document has its pronounced interest as a fresh item of Apocrypha, the range of which is continually being increased by new discoveries, vide the Hebrew *III Enoch*, recently published by Odeberg.

The following comments may be made. In discussion of the title אַסְטִיר, 'asālīr is simply the plural of Arab. 'uṣṭūr 'story' (ignored by the author, p. 3). P. 94 the editor gives a happy solution of 'Armilos' as a name of the Antichrist. The Pal. Targum to Num. 22, 5 explains Balaam's name from בִּלְעָם which Dr. Gaster suggests = Ερεμῆλαος (sic) = Armilos. The chapter on Mandaean Affinities (p. 125) deserves attention on the part of students of a problem now much in the air. I may note that the Dustai sect among the Mandaeans may be related to the Samaritan Dustai-Dositheos, himself a hemerobaptist. P. 177 Dr. Gaster gives a transliteration of a portion of the Samaritan Targum as dictated to him by a priest. The Death of Moses the editor finds very similar and indeed prior to the well-known apocryphon of the Assumption of Moses. Its last chapter is a colorless prospect of future history, in which prince after prince shall arise, cf. Dan. 11. But the personages are, with exception of a few cryptic references to the wicked Jews Eli, Saul, David, Solomon, and the destruction of Jerusalem, all unidentifiable. A possible historical clue may be found in v. 20, "a prince will arise, who will abolish circumcision, in his days he will suck from the abundance of the seas;" now the first Roman emperor to forbid circumcision to the Samaritans was Hadrian, a prohibition renewed by

Constantius in the fourth century (*Samaritans*, 90f, 102). In fine we are indebted to Dr. Gaster for an interesting volume marked with indefatigable pains and great learning.

DALMAN'S PALESTINE

OF ALL the notable contributions produced by the veteran scholar Professor Dalman,² none can provoke more general applause and be of greater value for the elucidation of the realia of the Bible and kindred literatures than the work before us. And none of his many books has probably afforded the writer keener pleasure, for it is a compendium of his intimate personal observations and recollections of his goings out and comings in among the fellahin for the past thirty years. It is a deposit of his carefully kept notes on the meteorology and physical characteristics of the land and of the people in their life and work in field and house, their feasts and pastimes, in a word the sum of their homely life. The author adduces for interpretation not only the Biblical parallels but those from the later Jewish literature, Midrashim, Talmud, etc., so that the work is a veritable commentary and encyclopedia to those varied literatures. The work is divided into four parts, Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer, so that the life of nature and man unfolds like a panorama moving with the course of the year. For each season are described the moods of the weather, in temperature and rainfall, the crops and tendance of domestic animals, the peasant's varied activities, and his religious and social calendar. It need hardly be said that every observation is booked in most scholarly fashion, for instance the Arabic terms are always given in exact transliteration, and yet all is done with the spirit of one who loves his Palestine. The inclusion of the post-Biblical Jewish literature is invaluable, for there are few who combine like Dalman both the philological endowment and the opportunity of thorough knowledge of the land. The work is illustrated with fine photographs, and there are full indexes, of Hebrew and Aramaic words, of Arabic words, of subject matter, and of Biblical citations. It will at once take its place as one of the essential books on Palestine lore, and should be on the preferred list of every reader in that field. Its wealth of detail cannot be worthily set forth in a brief notice.

² *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* von GUSTAF DALMAN. Band I, Jahreslauf und Tageslauf, 1. and 2. Hälfte [two volumes]. Schriften des Deutschen Palästina-Instituts, herausgegeben von G. DALMAN 3. Band, 1. Hälfte. C. BERTELSMANN, Gütersloh, 1928. Pp. XIV, 698.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE

THE Julian Romance is one of the classic pieces of Syriac literature and Dr. Gollancz³ deserves well of men of letters that he has given a translation of it, the first indeed that has appeared, although the text was published almost fifty years ago by J. G. E. Hoffmann of Kiel. The translation is fluent and the expansive rhetoric of the original appears to be admirably rendered. One defect is to be noted, occurring also in other recent translations from the Syriac: cross-references to the pagination of the original text are not given and consequently the reader cannot readily control the translation from the text.

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³ *Julian the Apostate*, Now translated for the first time from the Syriac Original, by SIR HERMANN GOLLANCZ. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, London, HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1928. Pp. 264.

KASSOVSKY'S CONCORDANCE TO THE MISHNAH¹

A CONCORDANCE to the Mishnah is something epochal in post-biblical Hebrew literature, something new and daring. For after all there is still lacking a properly recognized and well established *textus receptus* of the Mishnah. Both the current editions of the Babylonian Talmud and the text of the Palestinian Talmud tread side by side the road of historical transmission, and yet such a collection of loci must make its choice and reveal its color.

In addition, the lack of a Masorah to the Mishnah is responsible for other difficulties centering in the problem of plene writing, of which one becomes aware only when one approaches the vocalization. Should one retain here also all the various *matres lectionis*? To find a clear way here is possible only to one who is well versed in the laws of the Hebrew language and also knows how to respect them. Before one decides to create and publish such a work, which ought to be of lasting value and owing to the requisite amount of cost and labor presupposes considerable preparations, both scientific and material, one should establish exactly the principles of the edition and adhere as closely as possible to them.

Let me state at the outset that on the whole the edition failed completely in the vocalization of the words. Sometimes the non-vocalized plene written word precedes the vocalized defective written word, as, e. g., המדומע-המדקע p. 509, חיתו-היתו p. 689; but at other times, on the contrary, the vocalized precedes the non-vocalized word, as, e. g., גמלות-גמלות p. 462, אילנית-אילנית p. 95, כיבושין-כיבושין p. 462, קשקשת-משובשת p. 926, בבושין p. 926. Or the word is written only defective, as, for instance, אהל, אהל, p. 31 (alongside with נחל, נחל, p. 477, נחל, נחל, p. 1013, עסה, עסה, p. 1377, לשרף, לשרף, p. 1823; or, on the contrary, only

¹ אוצר לשון המשנה. ספר המתאימות. קונקורדנציה על ששה סדרי משנה. חברי חיים יהושע קאסובסקי. פראנקפורט ע"י מאין. בהוצאת י. קויפמאן. הרפ"ו. Concordantiae totius Mishnae omnes voces sex librorum adscriptis, secundum ordinem alphabeticum continentes vocalibus adscriptis, locis ubique excerptis edidit HAIM JOSHUA KASSOVSKY. Francofurti ad Moenum: apud J. KAUFFMANN VERLAG, 1927. Pp. 1868+39.

plene, not only אֵילָן p. 95, or דְּלִיקָה p. 502, but also אֲבוֹקָה p. 19, אֲנוּדָה p. 21, בְּרִיָּה p. 414 (comp. on the contrary לֶאֱפִיָּה p. 268), אֲרוּבָה "long", adj. fem. sing., p. 274, גּוֹבָא p. 461, פְּעוּלָה p. 1469, קְרוּשָׁה p. 1543, and even וְתוּמִים p. 1853, not in its Aramaic connotation "garlic" but equivalent to biblical וְתָמִים, where in each case the Dagesh in the consonant following the Waw is simply left without consideration; אֲרוּבָה signifies "cure," whereas אֲרֻבָּה is fem. of אֲרֻךְ "long", comp. on the other hand אֲרוּבָה p. 274—all impossible forms.

We also meet with a curious attempt to establish a grammatical error in a quasi-scientific way. Alongside of the correctly vocalized infinitives לִפְתָּחוּ p. 1495, לִשְׁמְרוּ p. 1776, or לִשְׁפָּכָה p. 1812, we find as infinitives (sic!) forms like לְאוֹמְרוּ p. 228 (here proof is adduced for the admission of this form by analogy with בְּמִצְאָכֶם Gen. 32, 20), לְבוֹדְקוֹן p. 319, לְשׁוֹרְפָה p. 1822.

Once the edition had the misfortune of correcting the participle wrongly: שְׁהִיָּה נִרְשָׁה is naturally made equal to the only correct form גּוֹרְשָׁה p. 443, as if it had been an infinitive, which then ought to be properly corrected.

Surprising are vocalizations like שְׁבָבְשׁוּהוּ p. 926, וּבְדָקוּהוּ p. 319, שְׁתַּבְּוּהוּ p. 1010, וְשָׂרְפוּהוּ p. 1822, as well as forms for the 3d person perf. fem. sing. or part. fem. sing. with the suffix דְּהִתָּאוּ p. 494, and this on the side of the correct וְנִכְתּוּ p. 466, or גּוֹרְפָתוּ p. 472, גּוֹרְרָתוּ p. 473, מְשַׁמְרָתוּ p. 1776, alongside with וְהוֹפְכָתוּ p. 589 and מְסַעֲרָתוּ p. 1276.

The editor vocalizes as pl. masc. אֲנָסִים (sic!)—אֲנָסִים p. 238, בֵּית הַשְּׁלָחִין p. 375, וְהַגְּמָדִין (sic!)—וְהַגְּמָדִין p. 461, הַלְשָׁכוֹת p. 1088, comp. in addition וְהַשִּׁירִים p. 1670, and another time placed with וְהַשִּׁירִין p. 1711.—בְּעַרְלִי p. 1400 is not correct, it should properly be בְּעַרְלִי. כּוֹתֵל "wall" is partly vocalized כּוֹתֵל and partly כּוֹתֵל, namely when written without suffix, otherwise only (!) שְׁבָכּוֹתֵלִי, כּוֹתֵלִין, שְׁבָכּוֹתֵלִים, מְכּוֹתֵלוֹ, לְכּוֹתֵלוֹ, כּוֹתֵלוֹ (!), thus כּוֹתֵל (!) p. 1015-16, alongside with וְכִתְּלִים, בְּכִתְּלִים, הַכִּתְּלִים, כִּתְּלִים p. 1045 (biblical Hebrew כִּתְּלִים).

Instead of אֲוִיָּן on the side of a sing. אֲוִן p. 44 it might be more correct to read אֲוִיָּן, respectively אֲוִיָּה (from אֲוִדָּנָא, as נִפְאָה from נִרְפָּא), and

similarly instead of גריץ from the pl. גריצין the form גריצה is probably more likely, comp. the Aramaic גרצתא. Or should not דמעה be the sing. of דמעות instead of דמע?

There is no cogent reason for vocalizing נירומיו p. 470 thus: גרמיו, comp. *ibid.* גורם, nor for changing המגריפה to המגרפה p. 473 or גינה to גורה p. 451. Instead of גרדר and גרדיות p. 434 one ought to consider as more likely גרדר and גרדיות, comp., for instance, באגודי p. 21.

ההקה p. 489 is incorrect, comp. the compiler's own הקה p. 1189 or קדמה p. 1693. Similarly inadmissible is הקודם on the side of קדמת, p. 1476, and פרה ורביה instead of פרה ורביה. From חברה one can form חברה, but not חברה, exactly as from חמה only חמה and not חמה, see p. 715. Similarly one may derive from חלב only חלב, but by no means חלב, see p. 696, or from חרם only חרם and not חרם p. 743.

Pausal forms are uncertain, to say the least, even at the end of a sentence, because they have no proof behind them, so, for instance, יאכלו p. 146, but in the middle of a sentence they have no foundation whatever, as *e. g.*, עוני, עוני p. 461, 1377.

Very annoying are unbelievable blunders such as גרשוה p. 475, which is conceived as an imperative (sic!), then בינוני p. 360, בית הנצוח p. 373, בן סורר ומורה p. 391, בעץ p. 409, the sing. גרונת p. 474, the construct state פרושה p. 1695, as well as בויכים p. 353 and להרנים p. 591, instead of גרונת, גרונת, בויכים, להרנים, בעץ, בן, הנצוח, בינוני further from הרם a pl. ולחרמין instead of ולחרמין.

On the side of מקח, מקח is formed as the construct state of מקח in a citation from the Bible and consistently carried through, thus מקחי, מקחו p. 1085.

The participial forms הנאגר p. 21, נהרג p. 591, נלקח p. 1086, והנשחט p. 1704, should properly be vocalized with a kamez instead of a pathah, likewise מתאנה fem. (!) p. 43, for which read מתאנה; then מארחו p. 274 read מביאם p. 344 read מביאם.

Why Aramaize unnecessarily, as for instance, חבך p. 644 instead of חבך or חבך p. 1017 instead of חבך?

From שפלה naturally one can not form שפלה p. 1813, but only שפלה.

Very striking is also the form שְׁבָשְׁלוֹ p. 419 instead of שְׁבָשְׁלוֹ, similarly a never heard of form שְׁיִאֲרוֹ p. 44 instead of שְׁיִאֲרוֹ, then בָּאָתָה and בָּאָה p. 336 instead of בָּאָתָה (euphonically similar to רָאָה Zech. 14, 10) and בָּאָה (comp. Ez. 46, 17 וְשָׁבַת) p. 455 instead of שְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה p. 489 instead of שְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה p. 1271 (Pi'el!) instead of סָמָא, or שְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה p. 1556 instead of שְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה.

All careless current pronunciations are inadmissible even in a work which is not quite scientific. To this group, to quote a few more interesting examples, belong such nouns as הַבְּקָר p. 410, הַבְּקָר p. 413, alongside of the no less striking הַחֲלֵט, instead of הַבְּקָר, הַחֲלֵט. From שְׁבָח (?) instead of שְׁבַח or perhaps after all שְׁבָח it is impossible to form שְׁבָחוֹ, see p. 1672. אֵיל-קִמְצָא p. 95 is wrong, it should be written אֵיל-קִמְצָא. There is no נָדָר in the absolute state p. 442, but only נָדָר; nor is it correct to vocalize סִמְכָר in the sing. p. 1271, but סִמְכָר; on the other hand read correctly בְּנֵר and not בְּנֵר p. 317, דָּג instead of דָּג p. 487, and כָּךְ instead of כָּךְ p. 945.

Is עָרַב p. 1392 (so five times!) to be considered a typographical error, as well as תִּירוּכִין p. 1860? Read עָרַב and תִּירוּכִין.

Why does the compiler register דְּבוּרִים p. 486 as if it were a *plur. tantum*, instead of the well-known singular, while on the contrary to the word גְּרוּמִין which occurs only in the plural he registers an unproved גְּרוֹם in the sing. p. 470?

In general it should be stated that the compiler failed to indicate the provenance of each word, whether biblical or not, nor has he given the gender of nouns. Attention should also be called to the compiler's style in the notes accompanying each word, which quite often is careless and incorrect, comp., for instance, p. 5 s. v. אָב, the explanation חֲדָשׁ הַחֲמִשִּׁי, instead of הַחֲדָשׁ; p. 233 s. v. אָמַת, the grammatical note הָיָה לְהִי, though the names of the letters are known to be feminine; p. 1832 s. v. מַחֲבֵן, the explanation מְקוֹם שֶׁמַּעֲצָרִים חֵבֶן. There are also flaws in the sense of the notes, as for instance, p. 977 s. v. כָּלָה, שֶׁהָאֵרוּסָה בִּימֵי: As a matter of fact this word connotes on the one hand the bride in general, not only during the wedding festivities, on the other hand also the daughter-in-law, comp., for example, the Mishnic passage

כלתו... ומשום אשת איש בין בחני בנו בין לאחר מיתת בנו בין מן Sanh. 7. 4: *הארוסין בין מן הנשואין*.

Some texts are read and vocalized improperly, for instance p. 1088, *אלא שדברו חכמים בלשון נקיה*: Nid. 6. 11, the passage Sanh. 8. 1, *בלשון ש. v.* where it should be *בלשון נקיה*; p. 1316 from Kel. 24. 12 *שלוש עורות הן* and contrariwise Kel. 24. 14 *שלשה מטפחות הן*. Some citations are arbitrarily corrected and given even in a scriptio defectiva—deviating from the plene transmitted text—without any system, thus the citations under the words *מירה שוה* (for *נקרה שנה*) p. 277, *ארוסין* p. 268, *לאפייה* p. 20, *איברים* p. 451, *שרפה* p. 1823, exhibit only *אפיה*, *אברים*, *מרה*, *ארוסין*, and *שרפה* throughout, although these Mishnic texts are written plene everywhere—of course in lieu of vowels not customary in the Mishna. But so are these citations given without vowels. Besides, this principle of scriptio defectiva, which in itself might be recommended, would have to be applied consistently throughout the book, which is not the case.

With reference to vocables I have noticed the omission of *והורית*, comp. *לשון של זהורית* in Shab., 9, 3; Yoma 4, 2; 6. 6, 8, as well as *לשון של זהורית* Shek. 4. 2. Further, there are wanting the conjunctions *בכללם*, as well as *ו* and *ש*, as independent articles, together with all the passages in which these occur strictly as prefixes, while many passages with *מן* or *של* (the latter, as a rule, is not written by itself in manuscripts) are already registered in detail, comp. *ממך*, *משלי*, etc.

The various nuances in the meaning of words, to say the least, should have been considered and indexed. For after all it is a fact that these words occur not alone in their original meaning—which is very instructive for a knowledge of neo-Hebrew lexicography and syntax. I quote from the rich collection of passages in my own encyclopedic dictionary of the Mishnah, which is still in manuscript, the following facts in connection with the articles considered. The letter *ב*, for instance, is employed before the participle to indicate a condition, comp. Erub. 4. 4: *והוציא... בשוגג... במזיד*, *ibid.* 6. 4: *ונכנס בלא מתכוין*, see Ber. 7. 3: *במאה בשלשה*, in the meaning of "in the presence of," yet numbered together with the speaking subject; in juridical phrases "to be subject to a law or prohibition," see, for

instance, Ned. 2, 1: **זה בלא יחל דברו**; pleonastically before **לבר** in **בלבר** without a change in meaning, comp. Ber. 1. 1: **אלא**; **ולא** זו **בלבר** **אלא**, etc. Or let us take the letter **ש**, of which our Concordance has nothing more to say than that it is the twenty-first letter in the alphabet: as a matter of fact it occurs in the Mishnah in various significations, as, e. g., (1) **אשר**—"which" after the subject of the sentence, comp. Ber. 6, 5: **היין שלפני** **המון**, Shab. 1. 1: **שתיים שהן ארבע**; or (2) after the logical object of the sentence, see Shab. 2. 10: **הדלועין שקימן לזרע**, Shab. 12. 1: **חלות דבש שרסקן**; (3) **כי** = conativum "that" with or without negation, see Ber. 9. 3: **יהי רצון שלא יהיו אלו בני ביתי**, Git. 1. 1: **צריך שיאמר**, Para 7. 12: **בשביל שלא יאבד**; (4) **כי** = causativum "for", see Taan. 4.5: **באחד בטבת לא היה בו מעמד שהיה בו הלל**, Ket. 4. 8: **חייב שהוא** ואין מצילין בצמיד, Yad. 1, 2: **פטור שלא על אמונתו הלוהו**; B. B. 10, 8: **תנאי ביד** **פחיל אלא כלים שאין מצילין מיד כלי חרש אלא כלים**, also in connection with immediately preceding **מפני**, as, for instance, Meila 4.4: **הפנול והנותר אינן** כשרים מפני שהן ברשותו של שני, Para 8, 1: **מצטרפין זה עם זה מפני שהם שני שמות** זה חומר בוב מבמת... שהוב עושה משכב: (5) **כי** = declarativum, see Zab. 4.6: **אלא שחומר ממנו בועל נדה**, *ibid.* 5.11: **ומושב מתחתיו... מה שאין המת מטמא** (6) in combination with **לא** for the purpose of a quasi-adverbial designation of a condition, see Ber. 4.7: **עיר עיר ושלא בחבר**; פרחו היתה יוצאה שלא, Shab. 5.4: **מן המוקף ושלא מן המוקף**, Bik. 2.5: **עיר השולח נט'**; (7) after **או** in an alternative sentence for the purpose of emphasizing the opposite sentence, as, for instance, Git. 4.1: **היו שנים רוכבים ע"ז בהמה**, B. M. 1.2: **לאשתו והגיע בשליח או ששלח אחריו שליח דרסה וטרפה בכותל או שרצצתה**, Hul. 3.3: **או שהיה אחד רוכב ואחד מנהיג**, *ibid.* 5: **אכלה סם המות או שהכישו נחש**; (8) **אבל**—"however, but," see Bez. 1.2: **ומורים שאם שחט שיחפור בדקר ויכסה שאפר כירה מוכן הוא**, Edu. 6.2: **העיד... על אבר מן המת שהוא טמא שרבי... אומר לא אמרו אלא על**, *ibid.* 7: **העיד... על... שהוא טמא שרבי מטהר**, *ibid.* 7.5: **אבר מן החי העיד... על... שהן טמאות שרבי אליעזר מטהר** **הם העידו על תנור... שהוא טמא** **ש** or **ק**. All this is naturally lost if one overlooks the **ש** (standing as a prefix and not connected with **ל** to **ש**). But even where the advantage in gaining nuances in meaning is not so evident, one might still object that the statistical survey of linguistic usage remains

somewhat imperfect. There is no reason for the disregard of conjunctions.

Another point deserving consideration is the question of propriety and economy in the quotations given under each article. What strikes us here in the first place is the unevenness of treatment, then especially the frequent repetition of the same sentence at too great length under various vocables under which one would hardly seek information concerning the real meaning of this sentence. Buxtorf, for instance, quotes as a rule only three or four words. It may of course be proper to build up a concordance at the same time as an encyclopedic dictionary, with the help of appropriate extension of the citations. But this would have to take place only at the right place, where he who uses the work would naturally and logically look for the respective reference, not alone to obtain the place where it occurs in the Mishnah, but also in order to find out the manner of its usage, as well as the importance of the respective term or expression in every possible relation or connection.

The use of the concordance is no doubt made difficult by the strict adherence to the etymological principle in grouping the individual vocables. Not the alphabetical sequence of the first letters of the vocables is of moment to our author, but rather the place which the root of the respective word occupies in the alphabet. Accordingly תינוק, for instance, is listed together with the group ינק under the letter י, or תלמיד with the group למד under ל and תמצית with מצה under מ. A superfluous overburdening to the user, nowadays an anachronism.

Had the principle of proper treatment of the citations been followed strictly, then much, very much space could have been saved. What sense can there be, for instance, in quoting the entire passage Neg. 6,2: מבחיה, רבחה המבחה ממאה נתמעטה ר"מ מטמא וחכמים מטהרין except *s. v.* מבחיה, where it may belong and hence may be cited in its full length, also *s. v.* נתמעטה p. 1155 and *s. v.* רבה p. 1626? Or let us take at random the passage Naz. 4,7: מי שהיה אביו נזיר והפריש מעות סתומים על מירותו ומת: which is quoted in its full length *s. v.* והפריש, as well as *s. v.* מעות, nay even *s. v.* מירותו only and *s. v.* מי שהיה אביו נזיר... ומת only *s. v.* ומת, while *s. v.* only מירותו is given. On the other hand, the following may serve as an example of improper brevity: *s. v.* תיק the passage מצילין is given from Shab. 16,1, without the requisite end ואעפ"י שיש בחוכן מעות *s. v.* פרקים as well as *s. v.* no more than בארבעה פרקים העולם נדון *s. v.* פרקים while strictly speaking five words should have been added *s. v.* פרקים.

by way of explanation: בפסח... בעצרת... בראש השנה... ובחג S. v. מילה the interesting passage Ned. 3,11 on the cosmogenetic importance of circumcision in God's plan of the world is quoted only with its two initial words ... גדולה מילה ש... while the rest שאלמלא היא לא ברא הקב"ה אה עולמו is simply omitted.

The examples given above have been culled at random and are not exhaustive. One cannot escape the impression that on the one hand much of the material is cited at too great a length, while on the other a good many of the quotations are curtailed too much. Apparently the editor worked with great haste, as may be seen from the thirty-nine pages of additions and corrections at the end of the work, amounting to something like four thousand additions. Would it not have been more proper to undertake this revision before printing rather than before publishing the work, so as to make it possible to insert the additions in their proper place and thus avoid great difficulty to the reader in consulting index upon index?

I would still like to call attention to a striking peculiarity with regard to composita, in listing which the editor seems to be guided by the principle of economy of space, often purely mechanical. The passages, for instance, with בית המקדש are all quoted only S. v. בית, see p. 1545; the phrases ובכתבי הקדש, וכתבי הקדש, כתבי הקדש are found only S. v. לשון; רוח הקדש, רוח הקדש, only S. v. רוח, comp. p. 1541. But not consistently so: Thus, for instance, תלמוד לומר is found only S. v. לומר, p. 1080, or תלמיד הקם only S. v. תלמיד, p. 1081.

In spite of all these criticisms one must pay due tribute to the compiler's great diligence and perseverance. Naturally the scientific value of the work is somewhat lessened due to the flaws mentioned above; but the merit of the compiler to have brought the Concordance about, even if not perfectly, remains unimpaired, especially when the hope may be expressed that in case of a new edition the whole work may undergo a thorough and systematic revision on a more scientific basis.

The equipment of both volumes is thoroughly modern and fully satisfies our esthetic sense. Both paper and print are excellent. It is to be hoped that this first Concordance to the Mishnah may find many subscribers, notwithstanding its high price.

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BIBLICAL LITERATURE*

Of all Hebrew philologists who indulge in the gentle art of emending the text of the Hebrew Scriptures Dr. Felix Perles is the most reasonable and conservative. There is method in his textual reconstruction and he has pinned down emendation to a fine science. No wonder his first series of *Analekten* (Munich 1895) has gained considerable renown and is being quoted far and wide. The same fate no doubt awaits also the second series,⁷⁹ which like its predecessor contains many plausible and sometimes brilliant suggestions. The author modestly admits that much in his earlier work had to be abandoned, and this will hold true also of the present work. With the wheat there always goes some chaff. Nevertheless it is a creditable piece of work, for its good overbalance by far its bad points. The former are so abundant that everybody interested can find them. Some of the latter will be pointed out here cursorily. In some of the chapters, like that dealing with the wrong division of words, it is felt that criticism is overdrawn. There is also an exaggerated tendency to derive words from Accadian and Assyrian-Babylonian roots. Besides, the assumption of glosses goes a little too far: Thus on p. 98 Perles suggests that צידים Jer. 16. 16 is a gloss to רבים, but the preceding רבים לדונים requires לרבים צידים, and, besides, the verb וצדום shows that צידים is original; *ibid.* שמלוח cannot be a gloss to חלפות, for, like חלפות בורים, it signifies "suits of clothes," Assyrian notwithstanding (as to Jud. 14. 19, where החלפות stands alone, the text is doubtful, comp. Budde and Moore in their commentaries *ad loc.*); p. 99 Perles wants to make us believe that Lev. 20. 10 אשר את אשה רעהו is a gloss to the preceding אשר ינאף את אשת איש, to explain that by אשר אשה a strange woman is meant, not his own wife; but how could one mistake here, when in the Bible נאף is always used with reference to the wife of another? Moreover, the word נמל "complete" (p. 89) is not new, for it is found in the biblical lexica alongside of "wean" (comp., e. g. Gesenius-Buhl and Brown-Driver-Briggs *sub verbo*); מדרד (p. 33) does not mean *hingestreckt*, and as to וסאה (p. 34) it might have been וסאה. It should

* Continued from Vol. XIX No. 4.

⁷⁹ *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*. Neue Folge. Von FELIX PERLES. Leipzig: GUSTAV ENGEL, 1922. Pp. x+131.

also be mentioned that some known emendations are quoted anonymously, though a good many are properly credited. It is a pity that the author omits sometimes discussion and substantiation and gives instead cross-references to periodicals in which some of these emendations and explanations first appeared. Is not the book supposed to supersede the articles? Some mistakes or misprints have crept into the book, as, e. g., p. 50 where "*Abirren auf* נאשרו *in h*" yields no sense and should probably be "*auf* נאנהה *in a*;" *ibid.* Zech. 11. 13 should be 11. 3; p. 51 in the reference to Is. 46. 13 the first לֹא is omitted; p. 57 middle Prov. 29. 11 should be 29. 21; p. 101 the references to Zech. should read Mal.

Dr. Eitan's book,⁸⁰ a thesis for the Ph. D. degree at Columbia University, is a real contribution to biblical lexicography, in spite of some faults to be stated hereafter. As pointed out by Prof. Gottheil in his introductory note, "Dr. Eitan has endeavored to explain some difficult passages in the text of the Old Testament upon a double basis: The first is the inherent probability of a root's meaning from its connection in the text; the second is the derivation of such a meaning from a comparison with similar roots in sister dialects." It is this endeavor to explain the difficulties in the biblical text through a derivation from the cognate languages, chiefly from Arabic, that makes the book very valuable. Others flippantly resort to emendations as the easiest solution, not so Dr. Eitan who rigidly adheres to the masoretic text and tries to explain it as it is. Herein lies the test of good and sound exegesis. Only when all possible means of such explanation are exhausted may a slight departure from the Hebrew text be ventured. This worthy criterion Dr. Eitan is guided by in all his researches into the masoretic text of the Scriptures, which have already yielded some good results and hold out a great promise for the future. As to unfavorable comment on this book, it has a minor fault in that it is partly a *rechauffé* of former articles in various Jewish and Semitic journals. But this is not so serious, and may easily be pardoned. The chief fault to be found with Dr. Eitan is the inclusion in his book of explanations advanced by Bible critics before him. In justice to the latter these ought to be pointed out here: p. 5 שֶׁח "to be high" is really a conjecture of Eppenstein in *REJ.*, LII, 196, who compares יִיר of Ibn ʿĠanaḥ as quoted by Saadia Ibn Danan

⁸⁰ *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography.* By ISRAEL EITAN, L.ès S., Ph. D. (*Contributions to Oriental History and Philology*, No. 10). New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1924. Pp. viii + 68.

(*Kilāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer, col. 804, l. 28 ff.); p. 7, n. 14, חקר in the sense of "despise" should be credited to Perles (comp. his *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*, II, 20); that חשח Is. 41. 10 is to be derived from שחח, Ar. شح, "to be sad and agitated," was suggested long ago by Ehrlich in his commentary *ad loc.* (*Randglossen*, IV (Leipzig 1912), 150), besides being listed under שחח in the Hebrew lexicon of Yellin and Grassevsky, as stated in Eitan's note below; the reading תרר in verse 23 was suggested by Oort; similarly, that קורר Zech. 1. 15 is to be derived from Arabic غزر IV meaning "to multiply" was stated already by Houbigant in his *Notae criticae in universos Veteris Testamenti libros*, Frankfurt a.m. 1777, *ad loc.*; also שוים Prov. 24. 21 = Syr. שטי is found in Houbigant, *ibid.*, *ad loc.*; already Philippi (*ZDMG.*, XXXII, 79 f.) derives שנה Koh. 8. 1 from Arabic سنى "to shine, be exalted;" the explanation of שחח Is. 19. 10 from Coptic שחית "weaver" (p. 15) is found in Duhm's commentary on Isaiah in the name of Koppe and Rosenmüller, and also in Gray's commentary, who connects it with שחי "warp," only they both read שחח instead of שחית; that חח is to be derived from Ethiopic *ḥatāwa* "to be kindled, to burn," is as old as Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, nor does the note about יחך Ps. 52. 7 state anything new; in connection with גי "valley" in Zeph. 2. 14 the author should have stated that the late Joseph Halevy (*Revue Sémitique*, XIII (1905), 296) suggested the reading גי (or גי) meaning "valley;" דבר, אדבר have long since been derived from Arabic ادبر "back," as may be seen from Gesenius-Buhl¹⁶ (Leipzig 1915), and the latter has been rendered in the same sense as given by Eitan ("to subdue"); the derivation of חלש from either حَلَش "reap" or خَلَس "carry off, snatch away," is not new: as pointed out by the author, the former is made by Gersonides in his commentary, the latter by Schleusner in his *Lexicon*. Both these verbs are etymologically identical, and all the theorizing about حَلَش being a Hebrew loan-word picked up by the Bedouin invaders and not a direct development from خَلَس hardly holds good. The fact is, as pointed out so often recently, that there is no sharp line of demarcation in meaning between words of this kind, and the one may simply be a dialectic variant of the other (comp. Siegmund Fraenkel, "Zum sporadischen Lautwandel in den semitischen Sprachen," in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, 60 ff.). With reference to יח "be perpetual, exist permanently" it should be remarked that already Perles (*Analekten*, p. 65 f.) and with him most modern commentators admit with regard to Prov. 12. 12 that we ought to read יח (יחן) instead of יחן.

The etymology שִׁם = שָׁם "draw the sword and attack" has been advanced by Ehrlich in his commentary on 1 Sam. 15. 2 and also on 1 Kings 20. 12. It should also be pointed out that Eitan overestimates the value of Ethiopic for the identification of Hebrew. Thus קט, קטט, and הקוטט, do not have to be derived from Ethiopic *katata*, since Talmudic Aramaic possesses the root קטט "separate" which in the Pa'el signifies "make small" and in the Ithpa. "quarrel," comp. also Pilp. קטט "make small" (Levy, *Lexicon*, IV, 281, col. 1). Besides, also Arabic قَط means "to cut in parts" (similarly قَت, قَد and قَطع), hence "make small." In Koh. 3. 18 Eitan reads שהם בהמה להם construing them as a noun and deriving it from Arabic هَام "to run about madly," and renders "the stupidity of beasts is to them." But هَام, as may be seen from Arabic lexica (Biberstein-Kazimirsky, Lane, Dozy, etc., s. v.), primarily means "to be in love, to be maddened by amorous desire" and has no reference at all to "stupidity." It might be more advantageous to read הם (from Arabic هَم = cares, worries: לא בראם האלהים ולראות שהם בהמה להם "God has not created them but to show that they have the same worries as beasts." In Job 31. 23, where he very well reads כי פחד אל יאיר אלי and renders "for the terror of God was mighty upon me, by reason of His majesty I could do nothing," a more forceful rendering would be "for the terror of God overwhelmed me, and before His majesty I was powerless," in agreement with the Septuagint and the Peshitta. Not quite convincing is his explanation Job. 39. 25 בקול שופר (from Arabic دَوْنِي "noise, roar"). His notion that the Septuagint and Vulgate bear this out is unfounded, since these versions simply use here a free translation, as is quite natural in an adverbial phrase. Very ingenious, though hardly correct, is his interpretation of Ob. 1. 6 עֲשׂוּן (|| מצפוניו) = עֲשׂוּן = his hidden things, from Arabic غَشِي. The book is written in poor English style and, besides, contains many typographical errors, especially in Greek quotations.

The second edition of Gressmann's creditable commentary⁸¹ differs from the first (1910) in some respects. In the first place the notes under

⁸¹ *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels* (von Samuel bis Amos und Hosea) übersetzt, erklärt und mit Einleitungen versehen von Dr. HUGO GRESSMANN. Zweite, stark umgearbeitete Auflage (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl* neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt. . . 2. Abteilung: Prophetie und Gesetzgebung des A. T. im Zusammenhange d. Gesch. Israels. 1. Band). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1921. Pp. xviii+408+16.

the text have been reduced to a minimum, their contents having been incorporated in the following exposition. Then the notes on textual criticism have been eliminated from the body of the book and relegated to the back with a separate pagination. Also the Bileam lyrics, which were found after 1 Sam. ch. 15 in the first edition, have been removed to the story of Moses (vol. I, 2), while Isaiah ch. 15 and 16 have been eliminated altogether. On the other hand, the complete text of Hosea has been incorporated in the present edition, and a separate introduction has been written for the Book of Amos. The exposition, too, experienced many changes in all its departments: literary, folkloristic, religious, historical and geographical, with the result that the commentary has grown to voluminous proportions. As might be expected from a pupil of Gunkel, too much space is given to mythical and legendary theories while very little space is allotted to textual criticism. A considerable drawback in the latter is the quotation of the Hebrew text in transliteration instead of Hebrew letters.

Schmidt's commentary on the Great Prophets⁸² appeared first in 1914, during the conflagration of the World War, when the author was serving in the army and had no leisure to turn out a finished product. Hence the introduction had to be written by Hermann Gunkel, and hasty workmanship left a number of lacunae to be taken care of in a later edition. The present edition, carefully worked out, lays claim to considerable augmentation and improvement and is a decided advance over its predecessor. Not only does it include more selections from the texts of the Great Prophets, but each selection is also better treated and more becomingly commented upon.

The second edition of Haller's commentary on the post-exilic writings of the Hebrew Scriptures,⁸³ like the other works of this series, contains many additions and corrections of an important nature. Among the

⁸² *Die grossen Propheten* übersetzt und erklärt von D. HANS SCHMIDT. Mit Einleitungen versehen von HERMANN GUNKEL. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl* neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt. 2. Abteilung: Prophetismus und Gesetzgebung. 2. Band). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1923. Pp. lxx+498.

⁸³ *Das Judentum*. Geschichtsschreibung, Prophetie und Gesetzgebung nach dem Exil. Übersetzt, erklärt und mit Einleitungen versehen von D. MAX HALLER. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl* neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt. 2. Abteilung: Prophetismus und Gesetzgebung. -3. Band). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1925. Pp. 24+363.

additions are new selections from the Book of Daniel, more specimens of legal texts from the Pentateuch, some of the Elephantine papyri, more texts from Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah, brief introductions to single books, etc. The comment has been brought up to date, and the bibliography enlarged. The augmentation and improvement extend to almost every page and every paragraph.

Kretzmann's commentary on the Bible⁸⁴ is a Lutheran commentary and tries to establish the Lutheran doctrine from the Bible. As such it serves its purpose, though it does not advance biblical exegesis in the least. A commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures that focuses Jesus as the center of all divine revelation looks threadbare and worn in these modern days. Nor does its considerable bulk cover its hollowness. The arrangement is too monotonous and might have been more attractive. Only a few maps relieve this monotony. The introductions to each book are too summary and shallow.

Procksch's bulky commentary on Genesis,⁸⁵ which has proved to be of great help to the biblical student for more than a decennium, is now going through a second and third edition. While the fundamental structure remains the same, notably the division into supposed sources and the separate treatment of the three main sources (J, E, P), necessary changes have been introduced into almost every page. The most marked change is the transfer of the story of the eastern kings (ch. 14) and the second Dinah version (ch. 34*) to P. More consideration is given also to meter in poetical portions, and more attention is paid to the Septuagint version and its derivatives, probably due to the just strictures of Dahse and his confrères.

Under no circumstances will Catholic scholars of the Bible approve of the documentary theory of Higher Criticism, and Devimeux⁸⁶ counters this radical theory by a hypothesis that the Book of Genesis is a poetical work from beginning to end, consisting of a series of apparently inde-

⁸⁴ *Popular Commentary of the Bible*. The Old Testament. By PAUL E. KRETZMANN, Ph. D., D.D. St. Louis, Mo.: CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1924. Vol. I: pp. 798, vol. II: Pp. 730.

⁸⁵ *Die Genesis übersetzt und erklärt von D. OTTO PROCKSCH*. Zweite und dritte Auflage (*Kommentar zum Alten Testament* herausgegeben von Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Band I). Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHKE VERLAGS-
BUCHHANDLUNG, 1924. Pp. x+584.

⁸⁶ D. DEVIMEUX—*Essai sur les procédés littéraires dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*. Fascicule I: Les onze premiers Chapitres ou Les huit premiers Poèmes. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, [1922]. Pp. 126.

pendent poems, each having its own object and purpose, but, nevertheless, all of them serving one general aim: the Providential preparation of Israel for its great and lasting mission. In this sense the book, rather than a collection of fragments or sources, appears a perfect whole and exhibits great unity from beginning to end. To prove his theory the author proceeds to render the first eleven chapters into French verse, as literal as possible. But as a matter of fact his verse, except in actually poetical parts, like 4.23f., sounds prosaic, devoid as it is of the principle of parallelism and the powerful swing of imagination.

The controversy between the Fundamentalists and the Modernists, according to Dr. Fagnani,⁸⁷ turns largely upon their opposing views of the first eleven chapters of Genesis: the former believe that they are inspired of God, while the latter consider them to be a collection of myths and primitive folklore, much of it borrowed from Babylonian or other sources. Dr. Fagnani's contribution to this discussion consists in a new translation of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, from a revised Hebrew text and with explanatory notes, with a view of showing their mythical and irrational character and their patent clash with the modern theory of evolution. The translation is literal and emphasizes the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic elements.

The new edition of Steuernagel's commentary on Deuteronomy⁸⁸ follows the same radical trend as its predecessor with its minute subdivision of sources. The only changes noticeable concern minor points of exegesis and lexicon. Owing to economy of space the preface is omitted and extensive disquisitions are curtailed. Unfortunately the book is marred by misprints in the Hebrew quotations, as, e. g., p. 71 end שפנטיס for שפנטיס and p. 174 end קלשיו for קדשיו.

De Wette's Deuteronomistic theory, reenforced by Wellhausen, has been severely shaken of late years through the attacks and onslaughts of Wiener, Möller, Kennett, Hölscher, Horst, and a host of other scholars and critics, some of whom have advanced the composition of

⁸⁷ *The Beginnings of History According to the Jews*. The First Eleven Chapters of Genesis. A New Translation from a Revised Text with Notes. A Contribution to the Discussion of Fundamentalism. By CHARLES PROSPERO FAGNANI. New York: ALBERT & CHARLES BONI, 1925. Pp. 111.

⁸⁸ *Das Deuteronomium übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. CARL STEUERNAGEL*. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. (*Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. Herausgegeben von W. NOWACK. 1. Abteilung: Die historischen Bücher. 3. Band, 1 Teil). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1923. Pp. iv+183.

the Book of Deuteronomy to Mosaic times, while others set it down in the post-exilic period. Recently Theodor Oestreicher, in a book entitled *Das Deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, has endeavored to prove that the cardinal idea underlying the reform of Josiah was not centralization of worship, as claimed by the adherents of the documentary theory, but rather purity of worship, and that the same idea of purity and not centralization of worship underlies also the Book of Deuteronomy. This hypothesis leads him to the conclusion that Deuteronomy is very old and not a product of the seventh century, while the reform of Josiah was executed in the spirit of the ancient law of Deuteronomy. Staerk⁸⁹ expounds and elaborates this view of Oestreicher, which he considers a death-blow to the source theory of Wellhausen, at the same time refuting Hölscher's claim that Deuteronomy was composed about 500. In its legal ordinances, he asserts, it does not differ much from the Book of Exodus.

Budde⁹⁰ offers a detailed study of the Song of Moses, which he believes to be post-exilic, since it is dependent upon Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel in thought and diction. In fact he claims that originally the exile must have been mentioned after verse 25, but this was eliminated when the song was put into the mouth of Moses. The author has no doubt that the Blessing of Moses is much older than the Song, and explains the incongruity of two such poems of the same nature and one near the other by the circumstance that there were two versions current of the Book of Deuteronomy, an earlier one with Moses' Blessing, which is probably the Elohist's counterpart of Jacob's Blessing in J, and a later one with the Song of Moses, and these two were combined at a later date into the present masoretic text, with both farewell poems retained. A similar phenomenon may be seen in the Book of Joshua, where Joshua bids farewell to the Israelites twice, in ch. 23 and again in ch. 24. There is nothing startling in the reconstruction of the song itself.

*Der Segen Mose's*⁹¹ is a sequel to *Das Lied Mose's* and constitutes a reconstruction of the very difficult thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy.

⁸⁹ *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums*. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik. Von W. STAERK (*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*. Herausgegeben von D. A. SCHLATTER und D. W. LÜTGERT. 29. Band. 2. Heft). Gütersloh: C. BERTELSMANN, 1924. Pp. 65.

⁹⁰ *Das Lied Mose's* Deut. 32 erläutert und übersetzt von D. KARL BUDDE. Tübingen: J. C. B. MOHR, 1920. Pp. 50.

⁹¹ *Der Segen Mose's* Deut. 33 erläutert und übersetzt von KARL BUDDE. Tübingen: J. C. B. MOHR, 1922. Pp. vi+50.

The author follows the well-known assumption that the original blessing is found only in vv. 6-26 and that vv. 2-5 and 26-29 formed one psalm which for one reason or another was used as a frame for the blessing. The latter, according to the author, originated in northern Palestine during the reign of Jeroboam II, while the psalm is Deuteronomistic in character. In his reconstruction the author operates with meter and emendation, the latter derived largely from his predecessors. The reconstruction is not bad, though it is rather rash to claim to have recovered the original Hebrew text.

A commentary on the Book of Joshua must concern itself chiefly with the geography and topography of Palestine, but Schulz's commentary⁹² is more exegetical than geographical and lays greater stress on diction than on names of localities and their identification. Still, leading archaeological authorities are quoted briefly, without discussion, in each case, and an effort is made to identify ancient places with modern Arab sites. The author's attitude to the text of Joshua is critical: though not an adherent of the modern hypothesis he believes in an original book of Joshua, written perhaps or dictated by Joshua himself, and minor additions of later scribes who probably annotated the original; but the book in its present form was produced a long time before David. Moreover, the Hebrew text suffered from the vicissitudes of time, as may be seen from the Septuagint which exhibits a better text. In his translation, therefore, the author departs sometimes from the masoretic text, indicating such passages by cursive type, while the later additions are put in brackets. These departures are not always justified, but at least they are not radical and in many cases are limited to transposition of passages and verses from one place to another. A brief introduction deals with the contents of the book and its place in the Canon, its textual condition, time of composition, contemporary history, etc.

An air of good old orthodoxy breathes from Breuer's commentary on the Book of Judges,⁹³ and not a waft of modern biblical criticism is admitted into its pages. The standpoint of the author is that of divine

⁹² *Das Buch Josue* übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. ALFONS SCHULZ. (*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* übersetzt und erklärt in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten. Herausgegeben von Dr. FRANZ FELD-MANN und Dr. HEINR. HERKENNE. II. Band. 3. Abteilung). Bonn: PETER HANSTEIN, 1924. Pp. 78.

⁹³ *ספר שופטים*. חלק ב'. נביאים ראשונים. *Das Buch der Richter* übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. RAPHAEL BREUER. Frankfurt a.M.: SÄNGER & FRIEDBERG, 1922. Pp. vii+218.

inspiration of the Bible, and that any inconsistencies or discrepancies therein are only apparently so, really they do not exist. Wonderful are the ways of God and wonderful are the ways of biblical heroes and heroines, but our defective human mind cannot comprehend them. Hence we should abstain from useless research into the historical and religious background of the Bible but try to understand the Hebrew text the way it is. And so Dr. Breuer gives us an old-fashioned exposition of the Book of Judges, interspersed here and there with Midrashic interpretations, which may be good for beginners but not for advanced students.

Dietrich⁹⁴ institutes an exhaustive study of the phrase שׁוּב שְׁבוּ in the Scriptures. First he endeavors to determine its exact meaning, etymologically, grammatically, and exegetically. After a survey of previous hypotheses he arrives at the conclusion that this phrase, apparently meaning "to restore (as formerly)," is composed of the transitive שׁוּב, which had taken the place of a still used הִשִּׁיב, and the noun שְׁבוּת, which, derived from שׁוּב must have sounded originally *shabuth*, but later, through an interchange with the noun שְׁבִית "captivity," was pronounced and interpreted wrongly, as if it meant "to restore the captivity." Then, guided by the eschatological researches of Gunkel and Gressmann, he endeavors to prove that this fixed formula is eschatological and bears reference to the hope of the national restoration of Israel in the future. It is very probable, says the author, that the background of the prophetic-national idea of שׁוּב שְׁבוּ must be sought in very ancient foreign eschatology with its theory of the return of mythical processes of antiquity at the end of days. This is in accord with Gunkel's hypothesis that eschatology in Israel is older than prophecy, and altogether the book shows the impress of the ideas of Gunkel, who suggested the theme to the author. The subject is ably treated and well presented. An appendix contains a table of synonyms of the phrase discussed which are employed for the restoration of the people in the Old and New Testaments, in the Apocrypha, and also in rabbinic sources.

Duhm's commentary on Isaiah,⁹⁵ which has been enjoying a world-wide reputation among all scholars of a radical trend, was first published

⁹⁴ שׁוּב שְׁבוּ. *Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten*. Von ERNST LUDWIG DIETRICH (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 40). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1925. Pp. vi+66.

⁹⁵ *Das Buch Jesaja* übersetzt und erklärt von BERNHARD DUHM. Vierte, neu durchgesehene Auflage (*Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. In Verbindung mit anderen Fachgelehrten herausgege-

in 1892. A second edition followed in 1901, a third in 1914, and now comes a fourth. The repeated demand for this book, especially the exhaustion of the third edition during the abnormal years of the World War, attests fully its special worth and good parts. In literary analysis and logical reconstruction of the Hebrew text it still ranks among the foremost efforts of the end of the nineteenth century, though in archeological penetration and sympathetic understanding of the original Hebrew and its peculiar mode of thought it falls below the desired standard. The present edition does not differ considerably from the third, and therefore does not require new comment.

Dr. Jefferson's book on the cardinal ideas of Isaiah⁶⁶ is in the form of lectures or sermons delivered to a Bible class. These lectures are headed "The Social Vision of Isaiah," "A Holy and Reasoning God," "Religion and Morality," "Sin and Retribution," "The Remnant," "The Messiah," "A Warless World," "The Day of the Lord." They are introduced by two lectures on "The Value of the Study of the Hebrew Prophets" and "Why It is Difficult to Read the Prophets." The book closes with an appendix containing questions on the first thirty-nine chapters of the Book of Isaiah for the use of Bible Classes.

Sheppard's new translation of the first twelve chapters of Isaiah⁶⁷ is quite literal and approaches the Hebrew text much more than any of the official English versions in existence. This faithfulness to the Hebrew original manifests itself not alone in verbal renderings but also in the sequence of words and phrases. Nevertheless, here and there the translator adopts a textual emendation (as, e. g., 3. 17 "their shame"), though he does not indicate his reasons for such procedure. It is hardly just that such a work should be issued without notes or remarks of any kind, leaving us in the dark as to the justification of renderings of some difficult passages.

The question whether the Ebed Yahweh of Isaiah is an individual or collective designation has agitated critical minds for centuries, and advocates have not been lacking for one interpretation or the other.

ben von W. NOWACK. III. Abteilung: Die prophetischen Bücher. I. Band). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1922. Pp. 490.

⁶⁶ *Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah*. By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON. New York: The MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1925. Pp. 199.

⁶⁷ *The First Twelve Chapters of the Book of Isaiah*. A New translation from the Hebrew by H. W. SHEPPARD, M.A. Cambridge: BOWES & BOWES, 1922. Pp. 22.

Mowinkel⁹⁸ advances the novel view that the term refers to the prophet Deutero-Isaiah himself, though in a highly idealized form. The epithets of the servant of Yahweh represent primarily the experiences of the prophet in his struggle for righteousness and humanity, but at the same time they are cast in the frame of an ideal picture existing among the Israelites from time immemorial, the ideal picture of the innocently suffering, just and pious people which appears in the ritual plaintive psalms, the psalms in connection with sin offering. It will be seen that this view of an individual prophet follows closely that of Saadya, who is of opinion that Ebed Yahweh refers to Jeremiah; while in its religious-historical interpretation it verges on the eschatological theory of Gunkel and Gressmann, according to which a belief was current in ancient Israel, as in other Oriental countries, that a mysterious god, Tammuz-Adonis or Tammuz-Moses, suffered and died for man's sins and will one day be resurrected. The author elaborates his theory through an analysis of the respective biblical texts.

As a preparation to a commentary on the Book of Isaiah Köhler⁹⁹ presents a stylistic study of Deutero-Isaiah (ch. 40-55), in which the minutest peculiarities of Hebrew style are discussed *in extenso* and classified under different headings. The text on which he bases his conclusions is not the masoretic text, but a strictly logical and rhythmic text in harmony with the reconstructions of modern critics, particularly Duhm, on whom he leans heavily. Needless to say, not all his emendations are justified. Thus the omission of the relative אשר wherever found is probably due to an erroneous notion which favors the paratactic construction in Isaiah. It cannot be due to his metrical theory, since he seems to be reconciled to a non-uniform meter even within one section, and all kinds of metrical schemes recur in his reconstructed text. As to his conclusions with regard to the rhetorical style of Deutero-Isaiah, he finds all kinds of constructions and figures of speech and anything but strict uniformity and a measured scheme. Thus we find both syndetic and asyndetic constructions, and likewise both paratactic and hypotactic sentences, unconnected coordinative and connected subordinative clauses, of equal frequency. The author reaches the conclusion that syntactically the Hebrew of Deutero-Isaiah is in the

⁹⁸ *Der Knecht Jahwäs* von D. SIGMUND MOWINKEL. Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1921. Pp. 69.

⁹⁹ *Deuterjesaja* (Jesaja 40-55) stilkritisch untersucht von LUDWIG KÖHLER. (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 37). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1923. Pp. 142.

transition from parataxis to hypotaxis. Very interesting is the somewhat lengthy discussion of the verbal material and figures of speech of Deutero-Isaiah. Altogether the book should prove of undoubted value to the biblical student. Unfortunately it teems with misprints, which ought to be corrected in a second edition.

So many commentaries have been written in recent years on the Book of Isaiah, especially Deutero-Isaiah, that one wonders whether there is room and need for a new commentary. But Levy's commentary¹⁰⁰ has something to recommend it: it emphasizes the much neglected Jewish side of exegesis. Its justification lies in the fact that, unlike modern commentaries, it makes use of the older rabbinic expositors, whom one often perceives to be quite modern and up-to-date (comp., for instance, Ibn Ezra's reference to Cyrus in 41.2), and even quotes early liturgical texts in support of some explanations. In brief, Levy's commentary, though not quite original, is conservative and sane, very few textual changes being introduced. The author is opposed to the radical critical school and he certainly makes his point when he declares in the preface "that on the question of transferring sections of the text from place to place that school went to unjustifiable extremes, and that such brilliant commentaries as those of Duhm suffer from failure to appreciate the fact that a prophet was also a poet in something besides the form in which he uttered his thoughts. He expressed himself under the influence of strong emotion, and his thought leapt from point to point without regard to cold logical sequence." Hence he steers clear of the radical theories and interpretations, though he mentions them in his argument. Besides the commentary there is a new English translation from the Hebrew text, indicating by means of accents the rhythm of the original. The long introduction, occupying a little less than half of the entire book, deals not only with the ordinary introductory subjects (such as historical background, life and times, composition, etc.) but also largely with the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on Judaism, both ancient and modern. The book contains a moderate bibliography and concludes with a double index.

Marty's commentary on what has come to be known as Trito-Isaiah¹⁰¹ is a creditable piece of work, though not distinguished by freshness and

¹⁰⁰ *Deutero-Isaiah. A Commentary. Together with a Preliminary Essay on Deutero-Isaiah's influence on Jewish Thought.* By REUBEN LEVY, M.A. Oxford: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1925. Pp. xii+286.

¹⁰¹ *Les Chapitres 56-66 du Livre d'Ésaïe traduits et commentés. Étude critique* par JACQUES MARTY. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, 1924. Pp. xxiv+196.

originality. It leans heavily on Duhm, Marti, Cheyne and Sellin, whose theories and emendations it often adopts, but it has its own merit of clearness and lucidity. Above all it furnishes a beautiful and harmonious French rendering of the Hebrew text. Side by side with modern expositors also the Church Fathers are quoted. Besides an introduction there is a conclusion summarising the results of the commentary. The author considers chapters 56-66 of Isaiah as "an ensemble of prophetic discourses, composed by several authors, for the most part juxtaposed without any marked connection, and which, with the exception perhaps of a short and very obscure fragment (63, 1-6) and an appendix of an uncertain date (66, 18-24), reflect the troubled situation of Judaism at its very beginning, that is between the return from exile authorized by the edict of Cyrus (538) and the final foundation of the new community at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (458-445)." Curiously enough, the eleven chapters are divided among six different authors, besides an editor who joined these parts into a whole. There is also a discussion of the literary and religious value of Trito-Isaiah, and, finally, of its practical application in the Church. A serious flaw is the use of transliteration instead of Hebrew letters.

Volz's commentary on the Book of Jeremiah¹⁰² does not differ much from the standard German commentaries on this biblical book. It must have been modelled after Duhm's commentary, for it resembles it in many points, chiefly in its application of the canons of textual criticism and the advanced methods of religious-historical exegesis. In the first place it operates largely with textual emendation, changing words and phrases at will to suit certain favorite theories and novel notions; in the second it takes account of the various archaeological discoveries for the sake of certain religious and historical deductions. The emendations are not always felicitous and sometimes they even betray a lack of knowledge of Hebrew idiom, as, e. g., 2. 16 ירעו וקדרו בו for ירעו, קדקד, or 10. 20 בני יצאני for נבו יצעי. Consequently, the exposition does not always breathe conviction. Also the historical and chronological deductions appear sometimes arbitrary, especially when certain passages and entire chapters are ruled out as non-Jeremianic and as later interpolations. This may be true with reference to words and passages which appear as doublets, but cannot be said of entire chapters

¹⁰² *Der Prophet Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt von D. PAUL VOLZ. (Kommentar zum Alten Testament. . . herausgegeben von Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Band X). Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHER VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1922. Pp. LIII+445.*

which bear the indubitable traces of Jeremiah's impassioned style. Needless to say, Volz is an adherent of the modern metrical theory in biblical Hebrew, which goads him to introduce many changes in the Hebrew text for the sake of the meter. Volz divides the book into three sections: ch. 1-25, 26-36, 37-45, and the last chapter (52) closing the entire book; ch. 46-51, containing prophecies about the nations, are considered by him post-Jeremianic and later interpolations, hence he removes them to the end of the book. Another departure from the masoretic sequence is the placing of ch. 26 after 7. 15. But even in the Book of Jeremiah proper he finds many post-Jeremianic elements, which he very cleverly explains as a gradual accretion through continuous liturgical use, whereby modifying annotations and explanatory glosses were introduced by readers. This might explain the brevity of the Septuagint version, which contains one eighth less than the masoretic text. This problem has been dealt with by the author *in extenso* in a previous book entitled *Studien zum Text des Jeremia* (1920), so that here only the bare results are given. The German translation of the Hebrew text is exact and precise, the poetical parts being in rhyme. An introduction deals with the life and activity of Jeremiah, and problems cognate thereto. Volz takes the standpoint that Jeremiah was not in opposition to Josiah's reform but that he preserved a passive and sceptical attitude with regard to its results. The book has many fine points, but it is encumbered with numerous misprints.

The first edition of Professor Longacre's book on Jeremiah¹⁰³ appeared in 1917. The present edition has been revised and enlarged to include a chapter on the teachings of Jeremiah, notes and questions at the end of each chapter, including topics for written treatment, and references to the commentary on Jeremiah in the Cambridge Bible series. The work as a whole is elementary and the bibliography at the end is meager. (The author thinks that "the literature of Jeremiah is not extensive"!).

The little volume on Jeremiah the Prophet of Hope¹⁰⁴ restates to the general reader in a flowing and graceful style the oft repeated sad story of the prophet of Anathoth. The story is arranged in six chapters comprising six periods in the life of the prophet, and each chapter has at the end a table of reference, referring the particular event or prophecy

¹⁰³ *A Prophet of the Spirit. A Sketch of the Character and Work of Jeremiah.* Revised and enlarged, by LINDSAY B. LONGACRE. New York-Cincinnati: THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN, [1922]. Pp. 174.

¹⁰⁴ *Jeremiah the Prophet of Hope.* By DOROTHEA STEPHEN, S. Th. Cambridge: At the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1923. Pp. 78.

to chapter and verse in the Book of Jeremiah. At the end of the book the same references are given in their totality and in consecutive order.

Herrmann's commentary on the Book of Ezekiel,¹⁰⁵ is an elaboration and amplification of his *Ezechielstudien* published in 1908. In spite of the modern tendency to ascribe the apparent flaws and incongruities in this difficult book to a multiplicity of documents or sources he insists that the entire book was composed by the prophet Ezekiel himself and explains its incongruities by the fact that the earlier prophecies had been retouched or reedited by Ezekiel when he was an old man. Hence the two different points of view, the primary Ezekiel being highly poetic and prophetic, while the secondary Ezekiel is legalistic and ritualistic. Herrmann separates these two elements in the book, indicating the secondary element by brackets or indentation. The translation aims to be exact rather than esthetic, and for this reason metrical claims are left without consideration. Difficult passages, like the sword prophecy 21.13 ff., are declared to be hopelessly corrupt and left untranslated. The commentary is quite extensive and is two-fold: a historical and critical exposition following the translation, and lexical and grammatical remarks in the form of footnotes. The author is careful to acknowledge his indebtedness to the textual studies of Cornill, Kraetzschmar, Rothstein and Ehrlich. The book is preceded by a brief introduction, including an extensive bibliography.

Hölscher's analysis of the Book of Ezekiel,¹⁰⁶ like that of his predecessor Herrmann, is based largely on the textual studies of Cornill, Toy, Jahn, and Rothstein, and contains very little that is new, aside from the arrangement. His guiding principle seems to be to excise everything that is too difficult for comprehension and to declare it as hopelessly corrupt. Thus the difficult sword song is cut to pieces and only a few of its innocent phrases are retained. This certainly is a poor solution and one ought to beware of following it. As to the author's reconstruction, he claims to find an old and original Ezekiel, highly poetical and mostly corrupt, and later additions by one or more editors, prosaic and well preserved. He conceives the former as a consummate

¹⁰⁵ *Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt* von D. JOHANNES HERRMANN (Kommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben von Professor D. ERNST SELLIN. Band XI). Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHKE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1924. Pp. xlv+304.

¹⁰⁶ *Hesekiel, Der Dichter und das Buch*. Eine literarkritische Untersuchung von GUSTAV HÖLSCHER (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. 39). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1924. Pp. 212.

poet, exactly as Duhm conceives Jeremiah, while the latter are said to be purely legalistic and ritualistic, following the spirit of the fifth century. Chapters 40-48, which Mowinckel styles Deutero-Ezekiel, are ruled out as not belonging to the original Ezekiel. The reconstructed Hebrew text is improperly transliterated into German letters.

The Book of Ezekiel emphasizes strongly the ritual requirements of the Jewish people, which is quite natural under the conditions of exile then prevailing and the threatened shock of assimilation; but this does not imply a lessening of purely ethical conceptions in that book as compared with the teachings of the pre-exilic prophets. Dr. Herzog¹⁰⁷ institutes an inquiry into the ethical views of Ezekiel, by examining both the ritual and ethical prescriptions in detail. He admits that the former are too much accentuated, but he rightly points out that the true cult and ethics are not inimical to one another. Rather does the true cult possess a strong moral implication. In his view Ezekiel is a true prophet, not merely a reformer of the cult or learned scribe. This results from the numerous ethical requirements in his book, which do not fall short of the exalted ethical precepts of the pre-exilic and moreover had a far reaching influence on the post-exilic prophets. The book is an attempt at a true, rather than a one-sided, appreciation of the great exilic prophet, an attempt to understand him within the frame of his own time, his peculiar problems and his personal nature.

Sellin's commentary on the Minor Prophets¹⁰⁸ is a fine and welcome contribution to biblical exegesis. Eschewing some of the radical theories and wild hypotheses of the younger school of German expositors it treads the middle path of sane and constructive criticism, for which Sellin is well known. The attitude is conservative and the tendency is to consider individual books as units of composition and in some cases to advance their age. Thus, according to him, the Book of Hosea is an authentic product, except a few later additions, and was composed during the first half of the eighth century. The Book of Joel, dating from 500, consists of two elements: the prophet Joel and an apocalyptic

¹⁰⁷ *Die ethischen Anschauungen des Propheten Ezechiel.* Von Dr. P. PATRICIUS HERZOG, O.F.M. (*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen.* Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. J. NIKEL, Breslau. IX. Band. 2/3. Heft). Münster i. W.: ASCHENDORFFSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1923. Pp. viii+164.

¹⁰⁸ *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. ERNST SELLIN. (*Kommentar zum Alten Testament* . . . herausgegeben von Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Band XII). Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHKE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1922. Pp. viii+568.

amplifier who proclaims the approaching of the Day of Yahweh. The Book of Amos was written in its entirety by Amos, though a later redactor rearranged a few passages in an awkward sequence. Obadiah, on the other hand, despite its smallness, consists of four elements, only vv. 2-10 belonging to the original prophet Obadiah. The Book of Jonah, a unit except the psalm 2.2-10, was composed at the end of the fifth or during the fourth century. Micah contains some exilic or post-exilic, but by no means Maccabean elements, as maintained by some scholars. The alphabetic psalm in the first chapter of Nahum is genuine and an integral part of the book. With Duhm, Sellin places Habakkuk at the beginning of the Greek period, during the time of Alexander the Great. Zephaniah is genuine with the exception of a few glosses. Haggai was compiled immediately after 516, the year of the dedication of the second Temple. So was Zechariah ch. 1-8; while Zechariah ch. 9-14 came into being about 300. The date of Malachi is set at 470 and its unity defended. As to interpretation of the text, Sellin follows the rational method, which embraces emendations. In these he is guided by the exigencies of the meter, which to him is varied and not uniform. Of course, not all his emendations are sound or indispensable. Some of them, as the author tells us in his preface, are derived from a note-book of A. Klostermann, which the author utilized in his work. Altogether there is freshness and originality in every page of the book, as well as thorough treatment and authoritative statements. It is noteworthy that Sellin keeps his far-fetched theories concerning Moses and Shechem out of his commentary on Hosea. The book has many misprints, only a few of which are corrected on the last page.

The third edition of Nowack's commentary on the Minor Prophets,¹⁰⁹ like the second which appeared in 1903, has undergone considerable changes, particularly in the line of textual criticism. Many novel readings have been added, but even more have been discarded. Owing to a desire for economy of space summary statements are preferred to lengthy discussions about the merits and demerits of a reading. The only exceptions to this rule are Duhm, Marti, and Sellin, whose well-known commentaries on the Minor Prophets are always taken into consideration and their critical analyses approved or disapproved.

¹⁰⁹ *Die Kleinen Propheten* übersetzt und erklärt von W. NOWACK. Dritte, neu bearbeitete Auflage (*Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. . . herausgegeben von W. NOWACK. III Abteilung: Die prophetischen Bücher: 4 Band). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1922. Pp. 434.

Sellin, particularly, is given much space, his spectacular readings being noted in an appendix at the end of the volume. Many misprints have crept into the text, both Hebrew and German.

The *Präparation* to various books of the Old Testament, begun by Dr. August Heiligstedt more than fifty years ago, is still a favorite with biblical students in Germany, as may be seen from the subsequent editions. Its value lies in the word-for-word rendering of the Hebrew text and the critical notes appended thereto. The present volume to some of the Minor Prophets¹¹⁰ is in its second edition and does not differ much from the other volumes in this series.

Dr. Crafer's little volume¹¹¹ is admirable and commendable. It fulfills in every way the prescription of the general editor who states the aim of this series of commentaries to be "to explain the Revised Version for young students, and at the same time to present, in a simple form, the main results of the best scholarship of the day." Besides a concise exposition of Hosea's prophecies there is an ample introduction dealing with various phases of this book. Special features are a map of Asia Minor and a subject index.

Hosea 1-3 dealing with the marriage of the prophet has experienced most diverse interpretations. It remained for Allwohn¹¹² to consider it from the standpoint of Freudian psychoanalysis and its theory of suppressed desires. According to him, Hosea's marriage with a lewd woman is a fact, not fiction, but this immoral union takes place in response to subconscious or suppressed sexual impulses and only finds its justification in serving as an example to the moral union of Yahweh and the people of Israel. In support of his theory the author points out the sexual allusions and erotic expressions found in the Book of Hosea of which this prophet seems to be very fond. Of course, he is careful to state that this immoral act on the part of Hosea does not reflect on his character, since he executed it at the express command of Yahweh.

¹¹⁰ *Präparation zu den Kleinen Propheten* mit den nötigen die Übersetzung und das Verständnis des Textes erleichternden Anmerkungen. II. Teil: Die Propheten Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi. Herausgegeben von O. UNBEKANNT. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: FERDINAND HIRT & SOHN, 1922. Pp. vi+106.

¹¹¹ *The Book of Hosea*. By T. W. CRAFER, D.D. (*The Revised Version Edited for the Use of Schools*). Cambridge: At the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1923. Pp. 80.

¹¹² *Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea in psychoanalytischer Beleuchtung*. Von ADOLF ALLWOHN (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 44). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1926. Pp. 75.

But, really, does this psychoanalytic discussion help in any way to clarify the inner purpose and motive of Hosea? It appears rather like so much hair-splitting and useless pettifogging. The author's attitude to the Hebrew text is conservative, confining himself to a minimum of emendations. The Hebrew quotations are not free from misprints.

Texts for Students are always useful, but not when they follow an extreme and radical trend. The Book of Amos for Students¹¹³ is unnecessarily overloaded with textual emendations, mostly after the Septuagint but also of the conjectural variety. Moreover, difficult and unusual words are omitted altogether, the omission being indicated by dots. Such a departure from the masoretic text is bound to produce confusion in the mind of the student, not to speak of irreverence to the Bible. The text is arranged in stichoi, and textual and grammatical notes accompany it. A vocabulary is found at the end of the book. There are numerous misprints in the Hebrew text.

Praetorius' commentary on Amos¹¹⁴ is strictly metrical. He admits that he had to abandon much of what he wrote heretofore about the Book of Amos, since he was misguided by the theory of uniform meter. Now he reverts to Sievers, according to whom seven-foot lines predominate in the Bible. After a careful canvas he finds in the Book of Amos ninety seven-foot lines, seventy six-foot lines, thirty five-foot lines, twenty two-foot lines, and, in addition, a number of three-foot lines. Under this pliable system the author is not compelled to resort to excision as often as he was used to.

Mr. Evans' little volume,¹¹⁵ originally written to serve the purpose of a lecture, is a popular exposition of the Book of Jonah and deals with the following phases of the Book: Authorship and Date, The Contents of the Book, The Literary Form of the Book, Jesus' References to Jonah, Jonah an Allegory, Some Lessons of the Book.

Latterly the allegorical character of the Book of Jonah has been preached insistently and unintermittently. But this should not blind us to the fact that there is also another claim, the claim of the book's

¹¹³ *The Book of Amos*. Hebrew Text edited with critical and grammatical notes by THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A., D.D. (*Texts for Students*, No. 30). London: SOCIETY for PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1923. Pp. 61.

¹¹⁴ *Die Gedichte des Amos*. Metrische und textkritische Bemerkungen von FRANZ PRAETORIUS. Halle a.S.: MAX NIEMEYER, 1924, Pp. 46.

¹¹⁵ *The Book of Jonah*. By D. TECWYN EVANS, B.A. London: JAMES CLARKE & Co. Limited, [1925]. Pp. 56.

historicity. Hart-Davies' book¹¹⁶ "represents an attempt to vindicate the historical character of the mission of Jonah, as recorded in the prophecy which bears his name, and, at the same time, to suggest a method of interpretation which renders the entire narrative consistent and harmonious both in itself and in its connection with the New Testament references." No new arguments are advanced: The author operates with the old arguments of Jewish tradition and the Christian Church, winding up with the usual assertion that Jonah foreshadows one greater than Jonah, namely Jesus of Nazareth, and the statement that this book would not have been written but for the fact that its subject matter reaches to the centre and core of the Christian faith!

Martin's little book on Jonah¹¹⁷ is a *rechauffé* of articles published in various periodicals. "The purpose of these studies is to offer to the general reader an interpretation of the Book of Jonah in harmony with the best scholarship of our time," so that there is hardly anything new in them, though the author claims to have made an independent study of the Hebrew text. The book is written from a Christian standpoint.

Rabbi Posner's booklet¹¹⁸ is a running commentary on the Book of Micah, expository rather than philological. It is a purely Jewish commentary, following Jewish tradition and Jewish exegesis, and is intended for both class and private use. Curiously enough there is no introduction; but instead there are ten appendices dealing with various phases of the Book of Micah, such as the personality of Micah, the contemporary history and international situation, the chronology of the oracles, the artistic forms of expression, linguistic relations to Deuteronomy and Isaiah, quotations from Micah in the Talmud, etc. A separate insert contains the Hebrew text and a vocabulary of words not found in the Pentateuch. The whole is beautifully printed in a very attractive frame.

The thesis of Bruno's book¹¹⁹ is that the ruler of antiquity mentioned by Micah (ch. 4) as coming back and ruling over Israel refers to the

¹¹⁶ *Jonah: Prophet and Patriot*. By D. E. HART-DAVIES, M.A. London: CHAS. J. THYNNE & JARVIS, LTD., 1925. Pp. xii+144.

¹¹⁷ *The Prophet Jonah: The Book and the Sign*. By A. D. MARTIN. With an introductory note by ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D. London: LONGMANS, GREEN and CO. LTD., 1926. Pp. 102.

¹¹⁸ *Das Buch des Propheten Michah*. Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung nebst ausführlichen Beilagen von Rabbiner Dr. A. POSNER. Frankfurt am Main: J. KAUFFMANN, 1924. Pp. vii+124+16.

¹¹⁹ *Micha und der Herrscher aus der Vorzeit*. Von Liz. A. BRUNO.

iconoclast Jerubbaal (Jud. ch. 6-9). Starting with a detailed exposition of the first five chapters of the Book of Micah, the author deduces that Micah expects a new ruler in Beth-Ophra, a place south of Shechem, formerly the seat of government of Israel, whose ancient ruler, a Judge of Israel, had been murdered treacherously by the people. He then examines chapters 6-9 of the Book of Judges, which since Budde and Moore have been divided into two sources, an Elohist and Jahvist. Like Sellin in his *Sichem* (1922) he follows this clue and finds two independent accounts concerning the fight over Midian, one dealing with the Manassite Gideon and the other with the Abiezerite Jerubbaal. The former tells of the campaign of Gideon and his faithful 300 in the east and their victory over Midian, as well as of the kingdom of Abimelech, the son of Gideon; the latter informs of Jerubbaal's attack on the Baal cult, his victory over Midian, and his ultimate murder by the adherents of Baal, the inhabitants of Beth-Millo, as a revenge for his iconoclasm. In the former the scene is in the north, in the latter in the south, namely Ophra. Finally he identifies this Jerubbaal with the expected ruler of Micah. An ingenious hypothesis, one is tempted to say. But this result is obtained at the cost of very radical emendations and unnecessary changes in the masoretic text. Indeed, in his violence to the Hebrew text he out-Duhms Duhm. He practically rewrites the Micah text to suit his fancy, and in an inelegant Hebrew at that. In this he follows the radical scholars who are prone to conceive a notion and then endeavor to squeeze it out of the Scriptures by distorting the text. Thus of late we have been treated to many brilliant but unfounded theories about the Bible.

It seems that the theory of Maccabean Psalms has had its day and is facing a severe setback now. Thus the outstanding point in Mowinckel's *Psalmstudien*¹²⁰ is the claim that there is not even one psalm from the Maccabean period in the Psalter and that, on the contrary, most of

Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHKE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, [1923]. Pp. vii+213.

¹²⁰ *Psalmstudien*. I. $\overline{\text{Äwän}}$ und die individuellen Klagepsalmen. II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie. III. Kulturprophetie und prophetische Psalmen. IV. Die technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften. V. Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmdichtung. VI. Die Psalmdichter. Von SIGMUND MOWINCKEL. (*Videnskapselskabet's Skrifter*. II. Hist.-filos. Klasse 1921: Nos. 4, 6. 1922: Nos. 1, 2. 1923: No. 3. 1924: No. 1). Kristiania: In Kommission bei JACOB DYBWAD, 1921-1924. Pp. vi+181+xvi+347+118+52+vii+144+103.

the psalms are preexilic, some even pre-Israelitic. Following the lead of Gunkel he conceives all the psalms, whether collective or individual, in an ancient and original ritual-liturgical setting, and not in a spiritualised form, as assumed by most modern commentators; and as expressions of ritual acts and practices, not literary-historical documents, there is no reason why they cannot go back to hoary antiquity, when Israel was yet steeped in idolatry and pagan practices. This theory is elaborated very minutely and in overmuch detail in a series of six monographs, each one of which deals with a different phase of the same problem. In the first part of his voluminous work Mowinckel has a long disquisition on the term *אֱוֹן*, in which he endeavors to prove that its real meaning is "magic" (literally "wicked force," derived from *אָזַן* "force") and that the frequent phrase *אֱוֹן פֹּעֵלֵי אֱוֹן* refers therefore to "magicians and sorcerers," while the terms *עֲוִים*, *נְאִים*, and *זִדִּים* refer to "demons." Accordingly, the individual plaintive psalms are really fervent appeals of the worshippers against baneful magic and magicians, and like the Babylonian psalms formed part of the ritual and liturgical practices performed in the Temple. This hypothesis, admittedly formed after a study of the Babylonian hymns which centre in magic, is an obsession with the author, who extends it to cover also the so-called thanksgiving psalms, wherein the enemies complained of are said to be no other than the magicians. The subject of the second part is the psalms dealing with the throne ascension of Yahweh, to which Mowinckel counts also the group of 15 psalms with the superscription *shir ha-ma'aloth*. According to him, these psalms, which he conceives as ritual-liturgical and not as historical or eschatological, were chanted during the feast of the throne ascension, better known as the "Day of Yahweh," which was celebrated by a great procession personifying the royal entrance of the victorious god and at which probably Yahweh himself was carried up to the Temple in his ark. This feast of the throne ascension was part of a seven day feast which later developed into the triple feast of New Year, Day of Atonement and Tabernacles, and was known also as the feast of harvest; only during the Babylonian period, under the influence of the Babylonian calendar, this feast was shifted to the feast of Passover. This feast, the author thinks, is undoubtedly pre-exilic, as may be proved from 2 Sam. 6 and 1 Kings 8: Mowinckel believes it originated during the time of David. Consequently, the psalms written for this feast are likewise pre-exilic, in spite of Wellhausen, Smend, Buhl, Duhm, and others. Mowinckel is emphatic in his assertion that the throne ascension in the Psalms is not eschatological, as maintained by others, though he

admits that it formed a basis for eschatology, for the essential features of the one are the same as those of the other: Day of Yahweh, destruction of the world, misery and salvation, day of judgment, the remnant, the new creation, the new covenant, God's universal kingdom, the Messiah, etc. But to Mowinckel eschatology too had its origin in pre-exilic times, and with Sellin he believes that it was native to the Israelites. The third part deals with prophetic psalms, i. e. psalms which have a prophetic form (like 60, 75, 82, and 110, in which God is quoted as speaking), and of these Mowinckel maintains that they are not mere poetical fictions, as is often assumed, but real ritual hymns based on ritual reality. It is well known that each cult consists of two elements: the sacrificial or human (offerings and prayers) and the sacramental or divine (answers to the prayers). Since originally priest and prophet were combined (as in the case of Moses and Samuel) it was natural for the priest to communicate the divine answer to the supplicant, hence these prophetic hymns. The author groups the individual prophetic psalms as follows: (1) Prophecies for the great yearly feast: 132, 89, 81, 95, 50, 82, 75, 87, 85, 14, 12; (2) Prophetic oracles at casual community services: 60, 108, 20, 21; (3) Royal oracles: 2, 110, 72, 45; 4) oracles in private ritual: 91, 12, 62. The fourth part is devoted to the technical terms in the superscriptions of the psalms, which presumably refer to some unknown musical instruments. Mowinckel's remarks about these terms are far from convincing and hardly add anything to the elucidation of this difficult and obscure subject of the Psalter. The fifth part discusses the psalms of benediction and the psalms of malediction, which, according to Mowinckel, were likewise used in the ritual, as an accompaniment to the festive procession to the Temple. The sixth and last part deals with the date and composition of the Psalms. Mowinckel puts no trust in the historical data contained in the superscriptions, which he considers as later additions. Nevertheless he places the bulk of the psalms in pre-exilic times: some of them are Davidic and some post-Davidic, though none were composed by David himself. He takes issue with Gunkel's view that the authors of the psalms were private individuals, the poor and afflicted themselves, who complained to God about their mishaps: according to him the psalms, with the possible exception of the individual thanksgiving hymns, originated in the circle of the Temple personnel, not of the higher order, the priests, but of the lower order, the singers, the Levites, whose function it was to compose such hymns for festive occasions. It will be seen that Mowinckel labors under a load of preconceived Babylonian notions and ideas.

He admits having started with Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, which exerted a potent influence on him, and in his glowing imagination he fancied to see in the Hebrew Psalter an exact replica of the Babylonian penitential psalms. Thus, in explaining the Psalter, he operates with Babylonian tools: the creation myth, the dragon myth, the fight of the gods, the struggle of the nations, and the myth of judgment. It is true that he advances the age of the Psalter considerably, but, as is the case with all the Pan-Babylonians, this is done at the expense of imitation of a Babylonian archetype. His arguments are not convincing, and some of his emendations are impossible. It might be stated parenthetically that some of his thoughts have been expressed already by Gunkel, Winckler, and Gressmann, especially by Ad. Lods, Ed. Meyer, and Max Weber. Nor is his idea about the Psalms as liturgies altogether new. The work is too much spun out and contains many repetitions. There are a number of misprints both in the German text and the Hebrew quotations.

Löhr¹²¹ discusses the problem of mixed psalms, i. e. psalms which through their content belong to two or three literary species at the same time. Of such eclectic psalms Gunkel says that they evince an undeveloped individualism and faulty composition. Löhr, on the contrary, believes that their individualism is well developed and their form is in agreement with lyric creations of their period. The variety of the material is sometimes only apparent, in not a few cases it is due to compilation pure and simple. But on the whole these psalms are well planned and thoughtfully executed, and they pursue a definite purpose. To prove this point Löhr analyses a number of such psalms (78, 105, 106; 42, 43, 46, 49, 80, 107, 50, 22, 73) textually and structurally and endeavors to show their essential unity of composition and purpose.

Duhm's brilliant and highly ingenious commentary on the Book of Psalms¹²² is now in its second edition. The theory of the Maccabean origin of the entire Psalter is maintained as heretofore and elaborated more conclusively in his trenchant style. Many changes in arrangement and diction have been introduced, not the least being the separation of

¹²¹ *Psalmstudien*. Von D. Dr. MAX LÖHR (*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament*. Neue Folge. Heft 3). Berlin: W. KOHLHAMMER, 1922. P. 53.

¹²² *Die Psalmen erklärt* von D. BERNH. DUHM. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (*Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament . . . herausgegeben von D. KARL MARTI*. Abteilung XIV). Tübingen: J. C. B. MOHR, 1922, Pp. xxxvi+496.

the translation from the commentary. These changes involved an increase of 184 pages, almost a book in itself. The volume is well printed, though on cheap paper. A misprint should be registered: p. 338 commentary read שפטים for שפטים.

The combined third and fourth edition of Kittel's commentary on the Book of Psalms¹²³ does not differ much in size from its predecessor. Still the present edition takes cognizance of the literature on the subject that has accrued since 1914 and has a bearing on the translation and exposition of the Hebrew text. Psalms 1-39 appear in a completely new translation, while the other psalms have been corrected and improved metrically. Marginal numbers designate the metrical scheme of each verse. These and other slight improvements, coupled with the conservative attitude of the author with regard to the age of the Psalms, promise as great a success to the new as the previous editions.

Dr. Leimbach's translation of and commentary on the Psalms,¹²⁴ written from the Catholic standpoint for the people at large, has now reached its fourth edition. Nothing new has been added to the book in the present edition, not even a much needed index.

The burden of Peters' book,¹²⁵ like that of Mowinckel's, is that the Psalter constitutes primarily a collection of liturgical hymns for the sacrificial ritual and as such goes back to hoary antiquity. The author believes that Hebrew psalmody, like Babylonian hymnody, was very ancient in origin, probably going back to pre-Israelitic and Canaanite times, and that it is ascribed to David because he organized and systematized it and caused the psalms to be written down. As in the historical-legal documents there are Yahwistic, Elohist and Deuteronomistic elements so also in the Psalter there is an early Judean collection of liturgies marked by the use of the divine name Yahweh, an early Elohist collection from Israelite shrines marked by the divine name Elohim, and a collection corresponding in a way in its origin and

¹²³ *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt* von D. RUDOLF KITTEL. Dritte und vierte Auflage (*Kommentar zum Alten Testament* herausgegeben von Prof. D. ERNST SELLIN. Band XIII) Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHKE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1922. Pp. LVII+462.

¹²⁴ *Die Psalmen*. Uebersetzt und kurz erklärt von Dr. KARL A. LEIMBACH. (*Biblische Volksbücher*. Ausgewählte Teile des alten Testaments). 3 & 4. Auflage. Fulda: FULDAER ACTIENDRUCKEREI, 1921-22. 2 vols.

¹²⁵ *The Psalms as Liturgies*. Being the Paddock Lectures for 1920. JOHN P. PETERS, Ph. D., Sc. D., D.D. New York: The MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1922. Pp. 494.

composition to Deuteronomy, namely, the Prayers of David the son of Jesse (51-72). All these collections were combined in pre-exilic days into one Book of Psalms for use in the Temple at Jerusalem, and consisted of the first three books of our present Psalter (1-89). The two latter books (90-150) were collected and added later in post-exilic times. However, early in the third century B.C.E. the five books of Psalms were already in existence in their present form. Consequently, there is not a Maccabean psalm in the Psalter, for the canon of the Psalter was complete before that period. Peters elaborates this point in a lengthy introduction covering almost a quarter of the book. He then offers a new translation of the Psalms, placed side by side with the King James version, together with a brief commentary. This translation is in verse and is quite vigorous and effective. Here and there are noticeable emendations borrowed from German expositors, as, for instance, 2. 11-12 "With trembling kiss His feet," implying רגליו ברעד נשקו and explaining בר as a dittograph. The commentary, though expository, is deficient in philological explanations and does not elucidate sufficiently proposed emendations. The explanation of the technical terms in the superscriptions of the Psalms is old and does not contribute in any way to the solution of this difficult problem. The author follows a peculiar method of transliteration: *Yahaweh*, *lelammedh*, etc.; *'ugal* (p. 46 f.) is probably a misprint for *'ugab*.

The aim of Prof. Smith's little book on the religion of the Psalms¹²⁶ is "to bring out the significance of the Psalms as indicative of the religious and moral standards of later Judaism." To him the Psalter is the hymn book of the second temple and contains very little that goes back to pre-exilic times, not to mention the time of David: there is no reason why David should not have composed psalms, but if so they must have been in the polytheistic spirit of his day, and if retained in our Psalter must have been greatly modified to suit the spirit of strict monotheism. The author discusses also immortality and the idea of God in the Psalms, without, however, adding anything new on these subjects. The book is in the form of lectures and is intended for the general reader. A bibliography and indexes are appended.

Prof. Smith's new translation of the Book of Psalms,¹²⁷ as stated in the preface, "does not aim to dethrone the recognised classical rendering

¹²⁶ *The Religion of the Psalms*. By J. M. POWIS SMITH. Chicago: The UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO PRESS, [1922]. Pp. ix+170.

¹²⁷ *The Psalms*. Translated by J. M. POWIS SMITH. Chicago: The UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO PRESS, 1926. Pp. xiii+274.

found in the King James Version," which still stands unrivaled as a masterpiece of English literature, but "rather to incorporate within itself the results of the scholarship of recent decades." It is based upon the masoretic Hebrew text, corrected and emended sometimes by conjecture and sometimes by a comparison with the ancient versions; but these corrections and emendations, borrowed mostly from well recognized authorities, such as Bertholet, Buhl, Duhm, Marti and Kittel, are not at all extreme. It is precise and accurate, neither too literal nor paraphrastic, and is couched in measured lines. In an appendix the author discusses the date, the poetry, and the religion of the Psalter. As stated above, he considers the Psalter primarily as the hymnbook of the second temple. He believes in the Maccabean origin of some psalms (notably 44, 74, 79, and 83) and is of opinion that the Psalter was not completed until the Maccabean period or after. But this does not preclude the possibility of Davidic psalms: it is more than likely that David composed some psalms, but with the refinement of the Jewish religion and the development of its ethical concepts these were discontinued as out of date or revised to suit the newer spirit. As to the titles of the psalms, they are fictitious and should not be trusted. In fact, the author omits them from his discussion altogether. It should be noted that textual notes are appended in order to explain some of the departures from the masoretic text.

Cooke's metrical version of the Psalms,¹²⁸ based upon the familiar English versions and, in addition, upon the well-known commentaries of Perowne, Driver, King, Kirkpatrick, and McFadyen, is a new and complete paraphrase of the Psalms in rhymed metre. Its value is chiefly literary and artistic, not expository and exegetical. In many cases it is difficult to recognize the original Hebrew behind the smoothly flowing quatrains. Yet the general sense is well preserved, and the volume has a *raison d'être* as a proper means to memorize the noble ideas and lofty thoughts of the great hymnbook of mankind.

Every now and then a new sensation is sprung in the field of biblical criticism, which causes a stir for a while and is raised to the superlative degree of "epoch making," until ripe reflection and mature deliberation lay it to rest. Such a sensation was sprung by Prof. Franz Wutz in his work *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*

¹²⁸ *Israel's Songs and Meditations*. New Metrical Paraphrase of the Psalms. W. J. COOKE. Preston: Printed by R. SEED & SONS, 1924. Pp. 210.

(Leipzig 1925), in which he advanced the startling hypothesis that the oldest translators of the Sacred Scriptures did not produce their versions from a Hebrew consonantal text, but rather from a Hebrew text transcribed in Greek letters, hence the numerous deficiencies and discrepancies between the original and the versions (for a very able criticism of this view comp. Prof. Max L. Margolis in this *Review*, XVI, 117-125). The present commentary on the Book of Psalms,¹²⁹ which is strictly textual and not expository, is based on this doubtful hypothesis, and may be said to stand or fall with it. In this commentary he goes a little further, for he assumes that not only the Greek translators had a transcribed Hebrew text before them, but also that the Masoretes, fixing the Hebrew text for future generations, made use of such a transcribed text together with ancient Hebrew manuscripts. This shows to what lengths one may be led in one's attempt to bolster up an inauspiciously conceived theory. That Wutz is on the wrong track may be seen from some of his emendations which are paraded repeatedly as ingenious and remarkable inventions but which on closer inspection prove to be baseless and impossible. Wutz, who emphasizes his opposition to conjectural emendation of the masoretic text, advocates methodical and systematic emendation based on the laws of ancient Hebrew paleography and the most ancient versions, the Septuagint and the Peshitta. But, after all, the test of an emendation ought to be its superiority over the emended text in Hebrew diction and style generally. Singular and unique words, so-called hapax legomena, are admissible, but they should at least fit into the general frame of Hebrew idiom. This is not the case in Wutz's commentary on Psalms, as may be seen from the following examples: 2. 12 he reads נָשׂ דּוּקֵר = *nehmt Gesittung an*, a conglomerate of Arabic and Syriac, not realizing that the masoretic text may have the same meaning: embrace or get hold of purity, comp. 78. 9 נוֹשְׁקֵי רוּמִי קֶשֶׁת and its parallel in Jer. 46. 6 חִפְשֵׁי דְרָכֵי קֶשֶׁת (נֶשֶׁק) "to kiss" must have had an original meaning "to embrace, to grasp, to seize"; 8. 2 he reads אֲשֶׁר נִתָּהּ with the help of Arabic نَبَأ "be prominent," which is hardly better than אֲשֶׁר נִתָּה of the Syriac version and does not ease the awkward construction with אֲשֶׁר; 29. 2 in what way is בְּחֵדְרָה קִדְשׁוֹ "in his holy chamber" better than masoretic בְּחֵדְרָה קִדְשׁוֹ? 37. 20 כִּיקֵר קִרִּים, strangely enough, is read מוֹדַרְכִּלִּים (from Syr. מוֹדַרְכִּל "strut, swagger;" 49. 15 he reads בְּשֹׂאֹל מִן־לֶמֶן (נֶשֶׁק) וְצוּרִים יִבְלֶה, the last word being rendered by

¹²⁹ *Die Psalmen textkritisch untersucht*. Von FRANZ WUTZ. München: Kösel & Pustet, 1925. Pp. lxi+472.

Prahleret; 58. 9 appears as *מחמסהו יהלך כנפל אש חבלחנו שמש* = *wie flüssig gemachtes Harz verzehrt wird, wenn Feuer hineinfällt, möge die Sonne ihn vertrocknen*; 86. 4 *אוכיר* is a "buffalo" and *עם כוש* is read *עמכוש* = *عَمَكُوس* "ass," and so on. What is one to think of such Hebrew constructions? Here is another specimen fondly quoted by Wutz as proof of the efficacy of his system of reconstruction: Prov. 17. 12 *פגוש יקב באיש שכול יצר כסיל באולחו* = *es befällt die Sorge den verständigen Mann; das Sinnen des Toren liegt in seiner Narrheit*; but who with a real insight into Hebrew idiom would approve of such a monstrosity? From these instances it is quite evident that for the most part the author relies on dictionaries and lexica rather than intuitive knowledge and introspective speculation. Wutz claims to reconstruct the Hebrew text of the third pre-Christian century and flatters himself that through his system of reconstruction the original Hebrew text of the Bible may sometime be recovered. However, if the text of the original Hebrew Scriptures did look different from that of the Masoretic Bible, and this is more than doubtful, it certainly did not look the way Wutz endeavors to make it look: a conglomerate of Arabic and Syriac vocables with no fixed rules of syntax. There is one other criticism to be made about Wutz's book: it is unnecessarily voluminous, for the same emendations are discussed three times, in the introduction, in the text, and finally in the index. Why all this repetition? So much for Wutz's efforts at reconstruction. As to exposition, only a very brief outline at the head of each psalm serves to indicate its content and historical background in general terms. Wutz believes in the Davidic authorship of most psalms bearing the name David at their head: the other psalms are later, but none of them go as far down as the Maccabean period, since the transcription from Hebrew into Greek, according to him, was already in existence at that time. It should also be mentioned that Wutz makes use of the Mercati fragments containing transliterations from Hebrew into Greek from the second column of Origen's Hexapla, but he does not attach much importance to them, for, according to him, they already represent a later Hebrew text than that of the transliterated text of the Septuagint: the latter seems to differ considerably from the second column of the Hexapla. Altogether, to Wutz the Vatican text of the Septuagint (B), which presumably constitutes the nearest approach to the original Septuagint that we have, is superior to any existing text, be it the masoretic Hebrew, Syriac or Aramaic. Hence, I think unjustly, he pays not the least attention to the Targum, though he cannot rid himself of the Vulgate, which is based on the Targum.

The Essays on the Psalmists¹³⁰ were delivered as Public Lectures in Oxford during the winter of 1925-26, and, according to the editor, attracted large audiences. Hugo Gressmann furnished "The Development of Hebrew Psalmody," in which he argues that Hebrew psalmody is in its origin pre-Davidic, that many psalms are pre-exilic and some also post-exilic, but that there are no Maccabean psalms whatsoever in the Davidic Psalter. However, he assumes an Egyptian and Babylonian influence. An Egyptian influence is also advocated by Dr. Blackman in his essay "The Psalms in the Light of Egyptian Research," while Mr. Driver, after due comparison, will not admit a Babylonian derivation in his essay "The Psalms in the Light of Babylonian Research." In addition, Dr. Theodore H. Robinson discourses interestingly on "The God of the Psalmists" and "The Eschatology of the Psalmists," while H. Wheeler Robinson contributes "The Inner Life of the Psalmists" and "The Social Life of the Psalmists." The editor in his introduction points out the present state of criticism of the Psalter, Higher Criticism giving way to the comparative study of religion, thus leading up to the present essays. He finds comfort in the consideration that through such scientific study "the Christian Church, on the one hand, will the more appreciate the significance of its Jewish origin; and the Jewish Church, on the other hand, may ultimately realize the true goal of its development and follow in the footsteps of Saul of Tarsus."

Wismar's volume of *Studies in the Psalter*¹³¹ deals with only two psalms of great significance to the Lutheran Church—46, styled "The Church; Her Comfort and Security," and 119, labelled "Faithful Adherence to the Divinely Revealed Word"—and is intended primarily for Lutheran readers. The commentary is devotional rather than scientific.

The sixty-eighth Psalm, sometimes designated "the Titan among the Psalms" on account of its vigorous diction and involved phraseology, is probably the most difficult and baffling psalm in the entire Psalter. For many years it has formed the battle ground upon which biblical exegetes

¹³⁰ *The Psalmists*. Essays on their religious experience and teaching, their social background, and their place in the development of Hebrew Psalmody by HUGO GRESSMANN, H. WHEELER ROBINSON, T. H. ROBINSON, G. R. DRIVER, A. M. BLACKMAN. Edited with an Introduction by D. C. SIMPSON, D.D. Oxford: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1926. Pp. xxviii+197.

¹³¹ *Studies in the Psalter*. By O. W. WISMAR. St. Louis, Mo.: CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1926. Pp. iv+144.

exercised their ingenuity and inventiveness with regard to its authorship and date of composition. It has been dated anywhere between the tenth and first century B.C.E., according to the whim and preconceived notion of the particular commentator, who is able to bend the text to his will. Cannon¹³² writes a well-proportioned volume on this single psalm, endeavoring to prove that it originated at the celebration held after the erection of the gates of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (circa 445), its author being one of the participants in the festal procession. This new view is corroborated by a number of cogent arguments from the text, which at times sound quite convincing. There is this to be said in favor of Cannon's theory that it accounts for every word of the Hebrew text, apart from a few corrections and emendations. This is a decided advance over Duhm, Briggs, *et al.*, who are compelled to eliminate almost a fourth of the Masoretic text in order to clinch their argument. Altogether, Cannon's attitude is conservative like that of Driver, and it is refreshing to state his principle of exegesis: "Interpretations which rest on extensive alterations of text are desperate expedients. The editors who adopt such a system have renounced the explanation of the poem and are explaining something else. It is not to be thought that such a system can ultimately give satisfaction or that an enduring exegesis can be built up on the shifting and insecure basis of subjective criticism . . . It is the duty of an expositor to explain the text as he finds it and not to leave out large portions, and this is the reason why the older commentaries are often found by a student to be much more helpful than their modern successors" (p. 57). His treatment is authoritative and exhaustive. In a long introduction of 40 pages he reviews all former attempts to explain the psalm, pointing out their failure; then he proceeds to his own exposition and its justification, winding up with a discussion on supposed interpolations and the Latin texts of the psalm. The book is marred by a number of misprints, particularly in quoting the masoretic text.

Of reconstructions of the text of the Book of Job there seems to be no end. Every year brings a number of new efforts to recover the supposedly original text, with the aid of the ancient versions or by means of conjecture alone, but somehow these reconstructions fail to make a lasting impression and their usefulness is at best problematical and

¹³² *The 68th Psalm*. Comprising Introduction, Revised Translation, and Critical Notes. By WILLIAM WALTER CANNON. Cambridge: At the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. Pp. 60.

doubtful. Dr. Battenwieser,¹³³ who, like many of his predecessors, is convinced of the corruption of the masoretic text of Job, has applied himself for a number of years to the remodelling of this difficult text and to the remedying of its apparent discrepancies and seeming inconsistencies. His reconstruction consists chiefly in the rearrangement of chapters 16-37, removing sections, verses, and even parts of verses from one place to another, whereby he gains a more logical connection and a more coherent argumentation. It must be admitted that he handles his material deftly and authoritatively, exhibiting a fine knowledge of Hebrew idiom and a thorough mastery of the critical apparatus; moreover, he operates with the existing biblical material, which he only shifts from one place to another, and refrains as much as possible from creating new words and phrases to fill in certain gaps; nay, he is even frank enough to admit sometimes that he cannot solve certain difficult passages and hence omits them from the reconstructed text. For these reasons his reconstruction may be considered as one of the best in recent years, though a certain element of arbitrariness still clings to it and it is very far from the goal of finality. In his introduction Battenwieser takes the view that the Book of Job is independent of an Assyrian or Egyptian source, that the Job mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel is not the same as in our book, that the prologue is from the same hand as the dialogues, though the happy ending in the epilogue (42, 10, 12-17) is a later addition, that the Elihu speeches, originally consisting of ch. 32-33 only, are interpolated and do not belong to the original Book of Job, that the book was composed during the Persian period, approximately 400 B.C.E. Battenwieser is of the opinion that the Book of Job is not really a didactic poem, a part of Wisdom literature, but a stirring drama of the human soul, in which the problem of suffering is discussed from various angles, Job believing himself an innocent victim while his friends defend the theory of retributive justice. Emphasis is laid on the fact that Job does not believe in immortality and resurrection, as is oftentimes accepted, that he hopes for vindication in his lifetime, not after his death. Furthermore, Battenwieser believes that the object of God's revelation is not to condemn Job, as generally accepted, but rather to vindicate him in the eyes of his friends. He bases this belief on the Septuagint version of 38.2:

Who is it that seeketh to conceal his design from me,

¹³³ *The Book of Job*. By MOSES BUTTENWIESER, Ph. D. New York: The MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1922. Pp. xix+370.

By holding back his words in his mind?
 Dost he think that he can hide them from me?
 and 40:8:

Despise not my chastisement!

Dost thou think I would have revealed myself to thee,
 Were it not that thou mightst be proven righteous!

both of which he adopts in lieu of the masoretic text. His argument that chapters 38-39 are addressed by God to Job's friends (or to Eliphaz as their representative) and only 40 f. is directed to Job is not quite convincing, since it is based on mere conjecture and is not substantiated by any of the ancient versions. It is remarkable that though Büttenwieser is aware that the Septuagint version of Job is free and paraphrastic, and sometimes even corrupt, yet he makes it the chief cornerstone for his reconstruction of the Hebrew text and he proceeds to render its variants into supposed Hebrew idiom. Büttenwieser did well in offering a vocalized Hebrew text, as reconstructed by him, at the end of the book, so that the student may be able to compare it with the masoretic text. The new English translation is quite praiseworthy for its plainness and exactness. It is to be regretted that the Hebrew words quoted in the comments are in transliteration instead of in Hebrew letters. Surely, such a scholarly book is not written for laymen but for theological students who are familiar with the Hebrew alphabet. The book is provided with introductory chapters, comprehensive notes and synopses, as well as a preface and index.

Ball's commentary on the Book of Job¹³⁴ is philological: it teems with comparisons from Oriental languages and literatures, including Egyptian and Chinese. But above all it stands under the Sumerian influence, registering nearly 200 Sumerisms in the book. This was to be anticipated from Ball's "Semitic and Sumerian" (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, 1909) and "Shumer and Shem" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. VII, 1915) in which he endeavored to prove the original biliteral forms of Semitic roots. Yet this view is as one-sided as the view of the Arabists who endeavor to find Arabisms in every difficult passage of the Book of Job. The latter has had its day, and now no doubt the former will have to pass muster. Thus exegesis constitutes a swinging of the pendulum to one extreme or the other. Naturally enough, Ball considers

¹³⁴ *The Book of Job. A Revised Text and Version.* By C. J. BALL. With preface by C. F. BURNEY. Oxford: At the CLARENDON PRESS, 1922. Pp. vii+479.

the Babylonian Job of paramount importance in a study of the Hebrew Job, and he gives the full text and translation of the former, as well as a detailed commentary. It is interesting that Ball assumes a negative attitude towards German commentators of the radical wing, like Duhm and his confrères, yet he employs the same canons of criticism as they, emending and inventing at will, sometimes without any semblance of authority or support. He even adheres strictly to the newly formed metrical theories and on this basis rules out many essential words and passages. This is apparently in disagreement with Burney's conservative statement in the preface: "Those of us who have worked for many years at the text of the Old Testament may have been responsible for the suggestion of a large number of emendations in corrupt and difficult passages; yet few indeed are the passages in which we can flatter ourselves that we have actually recovered the original, and settled the textual difficulty once and for all." It is difficult to see why Ball spends so much energy on the Septuagint of Job which is notoriously corrupt and exhibits a lamentable lack of knowledge of the Hebrew original. Surely it was not necessary to retranslate into Hebrew every Septuagint variant as if it were of great importance. It is in these retranlations that Ball betrays a lack of knowledge of Hebrew idiom (in spite of Burney's testimony that Ball evinces a "masterly grasp of Hebrew idiom"), as may be seen from 2. 9, 4. 2 etc. The carelessness with which he treats the Septuagint is exemplified in 18. 13 *יֹאכֵל בְּדִיו בְּכֹר מוֹת*, for which the Greek has *κατέδεται τὰ ὥρατα αὐτοῦ θάνατος*. Ball puts this into Hebrew thus: *יֹאכֵל שִׁפְרוֹ מָוֶת*, notwithstanding the suggestion of Schleusner, *s. v.*, that *ωραια* might stand for *בְּכֹר*. Very likely, however, G read *הָדָן* for *בְּדִיו*, or perhaps even *בְּרִיו*. Other reconstructions are not much better: 5. 5 *וְאֵל מַצִּיּוֹם וְכָל מוֹנֵם* for *וְאֵל מַצִּיּוֹם וְכָל מוֹנֵם* is an easy way to escape difficulty, likewise 15. 29 *מִלֹּם שְׁלֹם* for *מִלֹּם שְׁלֹם*; 25. 5 *נִעְדָּר* for *עָדָר* (construed as perf. of *עָדָר*); 27. 6 *לֹא יִחַרְף לִי לִבִּי מוֹם* "my heart reproacheth me not with a fault," an impossible construction, etc. Another lack of familiarity with Hebrew custom: the author suggests that the number of Job's sons and daughters, $7 + 3 = 10$, may be got out of the name *אִיּוֹב*, since *א' ב' = 1 + 2 = 3*, and *א' ו' = 1 + 6 = 7*, while *י' = 10*, the perfect number, gives the sum of the two; but more in line with Jewish practice of calculation would be the equivalence of *י' = 1*, the four letters yielding a total of 10. An ample introduction discusses various phases of the Book of Job, chiefly its relation to the Babylonian Job. According to the author there is no immortality

implied in Job (19. 25-27). Ball assumes that the Book of Job in its present form, except the Elihu speeches which constitute a later interpolation, was composed during the Persian period, approximately 500 B.C.E. The new English version is in meter and exhibits few peculiarities. It is interesting to note that Ball spells *Eyob* and *Iahvah* in the commentary, though using Job in the introduction.

The Rev. Devine's book on Job¹³⁵ "is not a commentary, but the sympathetic study of an experience, not intended for scholars, but for the general reader." And yet it bears the characteristics of a commentary, since each chapter is prefaced by the biblical text pertaining thereto, derived from the Revised Version. True, it is not a word for word commentary but rather a running exposition of the general sense of a phrase or a sentence or a section, as the case might be. Moreover, it emphasizes literary values and adduces analogies from the foremost English authors. An introduction discusses the general problem of pain and retribution and its treatment outside of the Bible. An appendix gives a brief bibliography, and then discusses the age of the Book of Job, Satan, After-Life, the Prologue and Epilogue, the Speeches of Elihu, and the Christian answer to the Book of Job. This is followed by a general index.

Like the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes Thilo's Book of Job¹³⁶ is translated into rhythmic prose and briefly commented upon from a non-theological standpoint. The masoretic text is adhered to, except in a few cases where vocalic and consonantal changes are introduced. Two very difficult passages (15.29 and 20.23) remain untranslated. In opposition to most modern exegetes Thilo construes the entire Book of Job as a well wrought and logically constructed composition in which there is nothing either defective or redundant, and in an excursus at the end of the book he endeavors to prove that the Elihu speeches as well as chapter 28 in praise of wisdom are integral parts of the poem of Job and are properly set in its artistic frame. There is no gainsaying the fact that Thilo operates with common sense and in this way often obtains better results than some of the biblical pundits with their abstruse analyses. His translation is quite attractive, and his brief notes are sometimes very instructive.

¹³⁵ *The Story of Job*. A sympathetic study of the Book of Job in the light of history and literature. By the Rev. MINOS DEVINE, M.A. London: MACMILLAN and Co., 1921. Pp. x+302.

¹³⁶ *Das Buch Hiob* neu übersetzt und aufgefasset. Von Lic. Dr. MARTIN THILO. Bonn: A. MARCUS and E. WEBERS VERLAG, 1925. Pp. 144.

Prof. Moulton paved the way for a literary interpretation of the Bible. Now this kind of interpretation has become a great favorite with professors of English at colleges and universities, who find it worth their while to reinterpret separate books of the Bible in the same manner as they would a Greek or Latin classic. There is an irresistible charm in such a performance which no true *littérateur* can withstand. Not alone the *soi-disant* profanation is alluring, but also the great human dramas which are developed so stirringly in every book. The literary analysis by Prof. John S. Flory¹³⁷ covers the two interesting books of Job and Canticles and constitutes an effort to elucidate and simplify the actions and thoughts of those two poems, epic and idyl. And this effort is "an effort to trace a line of thought rather than to discover subtle meanings of words," which precludes any philological discussion. Nevertheless the author takes his standpoint on general principles that the Book of Job goes back to patriarchal times and was composed perhaps in the days of Moses, and similarly that the Song of Songs goes back to the age of King Solomon and was perhaps composed by Solomon himself. The specific grounds for such an assumption are not given. Job is said to be in the form of a drama in five acts, besides the prologue and epilogue. But the term drama is used here in a very primitive and rather loose sense, meaning nothing more than spoken language in the form of a dialogue. Similarly the Song of Songs is construed as the personal experiences of Solomon with the Shulammitte maiden. Needless to say, there is no new light thrown on these two books, as the author modestly admits in his introduction.

In the Symposium on the Song of Songs¹³⁸ Prof. Margolis presents the problem "How the Song of Songs entered the Canon." His view is that it entered the Canon at an early date, when the cleavage between holy and secular was not yet very pronounced. He justly makes the observation that "the three parts of the Canon—the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa—originated simultaneously and each grew to its present dimensions by a long evolution which consisted in

¹³⁷ *Dramas of the Bible*. A Literary Interpretation of The Book of Job and The Song of Solomon. By JOHN S. FLORY, Ph. D., Litt. D. Boston: The STRATFORD COMPANY, 1923. Pp. 202.

¹³⁸ *The Song of Songs*. A Symposium. By MAX L. MARGOLIS, JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, FRANKLIN EDGERTON, THEOPHILE J. MEEK, and WILFRED H. SCHOFF. Before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. Wilfred H. Schoff Editor. Philadelphia: Published by the COMMERCIAL MUSEUM, 1924. Pp. 120.

some being thrown out and some retained and honored, honored in accordance with the prevailing mood of the people which itself underwent great modifications." Prof. Montgomery pictures the Song of Songs in early and medieval Christian use. Prof. Hyde points out Greek analogies and Prof. Edgerton Hindu analogues to the Song of Songs. The larger contributions are by Prof. Meek, who places the book at a very early date and derives it from the fertility cult so current in the Orient, and Mr. Schoff, who supports Meek's view by an enumeration of the offering lists in the book, from which he concludes that 134 substances are suited to the ancient Tammuz cult, 126 to the cult of the first and 7 to the cult of the second temple. One thing stands out among the divergent views in the symposium: the preponderance of opinion inclines towards placing the Song of Songs at a very early date, in contrast to the late date of the radical critics.

Vulliaud,¹³⁹ whose interest centers in esoteric studies, wishes to restore the mystic and cabbalistic interpretation of the Song of Songs, according to which the lover is God and the beloved the people of Israel or the Synagogue. He traces the development of this mode of interpretation throughout the ages, dwelling particularly on the Talmud, Midrash and Targum, whose allegorical comments are well known. But above everything else the Zohar, of which there is a French translation by Pauly, forms his source of inspiration and the standard of comprehension of the biblical text. Naturally, he eschews philological exposition, claiming that it never leads to a satisfactory solution of the difficulties that present themselves. A good deal of space is taken up with an attack upon the rationalistic school of expositors, especially Renan and Haupt and their immoral insinuations. Altogether the book is more controversial than expository. There is a fresh French translation of the Hebrew text with few explanatory notes on the margin, among them Rashi's old French renderings of Hebrew words. The book is beautifully printed, though mistakes are discernible here and there, especially in Hebrew and German quotations.

Dr. Mardrus, the new French translator of *The Thousand and One Nights* (1902-1905), has undertaken a new literal and complete translation of Semitic texts dealing with the perennial subject of love. The Queen of Sheba headed the list, and now follows the Song of Songs.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ PAUL VULLIAUD. *Le Cantique des Cantiques d'après la Tradition Juive*. Paris: Les PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES de FRANCE. Pp. xiv+239.

¹⁴⁰ *Le Cantique des Cantiques*. Bréviaire de l'Amour. Par le Dr. J. C. MARDRUS. Paris: E. FASQUELLE, 1925. Pp. 66.

As the title-page indicates, he conceives it as a breviary of elemental erotic emotion in two sensitive beings of a golden age, when no constraint is put on feelings and their expression. The book is divided into eight poems, arranged in dialogues between the lover and the beloved. The translation is free rather than literal, sometimes departing even from the sequence of the Hebrew text, which leads to the inevitable conclusion that it was made from a version and not from the original Hebrew. However, this is not much of a flaw in a book which aims to be an artistic and literary product before everything else. And an artistic product it is, both for its beautiful make-up and its mellifluous French style which is so well suited to the subject in question.

Dr. Thilo follows up his new translation and exposition of the Song of Songs by a new translation and exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes.¹⁴¹ As in the former so also in the latter the translation is neither free nor literal, the main purpose being to get the proper sense in as good a German as possible, while the comment is succinct, subordinated to the end of the translation. The latter is not always justified, as, e. g., in the case of 2. 8 שְׂדֵה וְשִׂרָה, which is rendered "numberless girls" in addition to the preceding הַעֲנוּתָה "eroticism." Nor are authorities quoted for such doubtful renderings. More explicit are the philosophical and exegetical comments at the end of each section of the translation and the general summary of Koheleth's views on life at the end of the book, where the author also airs his conviction of the unity of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

The theory of multiplicity of sources in the Book of Ecclesiastes appears to be on the wane. The newer commentators seem to realize that the whole book, in spite of its apparent contradictions, was written by one man who contemplated existence from different angles and mused upon its various phases. The same holds true also of Allgeier's commentary on Koheleth,¹⁴² which insists on unity of authorship and explains the various elements of the book (pessimism, hedonism, fear of God) as different flashes of the same mind. He rightly points to the

¹⁴¹ *Der Prediger Salomo*. Neu übersetzt und auf seinen Gedankengang untersucht von Lic. Dr. MARTIN THILO. Bonn: A. MARCUS und E. WEBERS VERLAG, 1923. Pp. 50.

¹⁴² *Das Buch des Predigers oder Koheleth* übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. ARTHUR ALLGEIER (*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* übersetzt und erklärt in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten. Herausgegeben von Dr. FRANZ FELDMANN und Dr. HEINR. HERKENNE. VI. Band. 2. Abteilung). Bonn: PETER HANSTEIN, 1925. Pp. vi+56.

diatribes of the Cynic and Stoic philosophy, in which, as in Koheleth, speech is followed by counter speech in such a manner that often it is difficult to discern when the retort appears and the reply begins. The commentary is brief and contains very little that is original. So is the introduction too brief, hardly touching the various problems of the difficult book. The translation is done into poetical lines, following the sense but not according to any meter. Here and there slips are noticeable, as, e. g., when "Rashi, Yarchi, Ibn Ezra" are mentioned among Hebrew commentators of Koheleth (p. 17), not realizing that the first two names are those of one and the same person.

Kuhn's exposition of the Book of Koheleth¹⁴³ does not add much to the existing knowledge of this perplexing book of the Bible. The emendations suggested here and there in difficult passages lack that insight into the Hebrew idiom which is necessary to recommend them to the thoughtful reader. Sometimes they even sound colorless and insipid. The following may serve as a specimen: 12. 11 וּכְמַשְׁמֶרֶת נִטְעִים בַּצֵּלֵי וּכְפִנּוֹת נָתַנוּ מִקְרָעַ אֶחָד, rendered "and like nails planted in the planks of ships, which are put there without one being broken." On the other hand, the author deserves credit for his belief in the unity of authorship in spite of apparent contradictions and seeming discrepancies in the book: the latter he explains in his introduction as logical in a universal and all-embracing mind like that of Koheleth. Koheleth to him is the representative of wisdom, popular and openly-preached wisdom, which finds its counterpart in the exclusive and restricted wisdom of Shulamith in the Song of Songs. One wonders at the many relations the author finds between Koheleth and the New Testament: to him the former is a vestibule to the latter, and in an appendix at the close of the book he points out a number of passages in which both agree. The author appends notes explaining some peculiar readings in the ancient versions of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

In an age of uncritical and wild emendations of the biblical text on the basis of the Greek version the caveat of Dr. Bewer¹⁴⁴ is timely and opportune: in advancing emendations of the masoretic text it is not

¹⁴³ *Erklärung des Buches Koheleth*. GOTTFRIED KUHN (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 43). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1926. Pp. 56.

¹⁴⁴ *Der Text des Buches Ezra*. Beiträge zu seiner Wiederherstellung. Von Dr. JULIUS A. BEWER (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*). Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1922. Pp. 94.

enough to compare the Hebrew with the existing Greek text, but it is necessary first to establish the authenticity and verity of the latter beyond any doubt; for just as the Hebrew text may have become corrupt through the vicissitudes of transmission so also the Septuagint may have shared the same fate. The biblical critic and commentator should be made aware that there are many variants within the Septuagint, and that even such prominent codices as A and B often differ in their readings. The original Septuagint is probably farther from our attainment than the original Hebrew, and hence expositors and exegetes should be careful in emending the Hebrew through the Greek text. This is a truism, which has been expressed before with reference to other books of the Bible, but Dr. Bewer discusses it with reference to the Book of Ezra, where discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Greek text abound. The author holds that the Hebrew is far superior to the Greek text, and he takes Jahn and Batten to task for their numerous superficial emendations of the Hebrew on the basis of the Greek text. In many of these cases he is able to prove that the underlying Greek is corrupt and presupposes a different reading in consonance with the masoretic text. As to discrepancies in numbers (such as between Ezra ch. 2 and Nehemiah ch. 7), he explains them through a linear numeral system, such as appears on the Elephantine Papyri, which could easily lead to mistakes. He exhibits great ingenuity in disentangling some of these apparent discrepancies, and on the whole shows sound judgment and critical acumen with regard to the ancient versions. He leans greatly on Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (1910), which first paved the way for a sound estimate of this historical book, but he differs from Torrey in his conclusion that the Greek text of B is not much better than that of A in Ezra and that both must be used with caution.

Ditmas¹⁴⁵ gives an outline of the history in Ezra and Nehemiah, following the order of the Authorized Version of the Bible except in three instances pointing to incongruities and discrepancies (Ezra ch. 4, 6 to 7, Nehem. 8). This is preceded by a sketch of the historical and political background and followed by an outline of Persian history from Cyrus to Artaxerxes I, as well as a detailed time-chart. The various theories and opinions as to the composition of Ezra and Nehemiah are referred to only briefly.

¹⁴⁵ *Ezra and Nehemiah*. By E. M. R. DITMAS, B. A. London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1923. Pp. 45.

Dr. Eberharter's commentary on Ecclesiasticus¹⁴⁶ is based on the Greek and not the Hebrew text, his reason being that the former is complete while only three-fifths of the latter are extant. Of course, he claims to have consulted the Hebrew text wherever it yielded superior readings, but very little of it is evident in the commentary, which is altogether expository and not at all philological. Yet it is fairly critical, and helps to elucidate somewhat a difficult text.

Since the rediscovery of the Ethiopic Book of Henoch it was considered self-evident that the figure of the Son of Man or the Elect One which appears in some of the parables is a real individuality, namely the so-called Messiah. Dr. Messel¹⁴⁷ advances the view that the Son of Man here, as in Daniel, from which it was most likely derived, is a personification of the Jewish people, and accordingly the passages which now speak of a personal Messiah must be looked upon as corrupt, remodelled, or falsely translated. These parables were especially subject to misconstruction and remodelling since the Christian Church very naturally understood the Son of Man in an individual sense. Dr. Messel is able to demonstrate, however, that the genuine texts dealing with the Son of Man contain very few individual features, while their vague terminology suits the Jewish people very well. He believes that these parables came into existence during the time of the Roman procurators.

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¹⁴⁶ *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. ANDREAS EBERHARTER (*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* übersetzt und erklärt in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten. Herausgegeben von Dr. FRANZ FELDMANN und Dr. HEINR. HERKENNE. VI. Band. 5. Abteilung). Bonn: PETER HANSTEIN, 1925. Pp. viii+167.

¹⁴⁷ *Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des Henoch*. Von NILS MESSEL (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 35). Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1922. Pp. 87.

THE REMBRANDT BIBLE*

IT IS remarkable that though many Christian painters throughout the ages had been inspired by the Bible with its wealth of subjects and scenes, comparatively few had given us a complete cycle of Bible pictures comprising both the Old and New Testaments. One of these few artists was Rembrandt who, to judge from the multiplicity and variety of his biblical pictures and designs, must have been a close student of the Bible and imbued with an intense religious feeling. Indeed, he may be counted among the most prolific and ingenious of Bible illustrators, for he is credited with more than 200 paintings and etchings and over 500 rough sketches dealing with biblical subjects, not counting such pictures and designs that must have vanished through the vicissitudes of time. This is the more extraordinary in view of the well-known fact that Dutch painters generally were averse to painting Bible subjects or anything remotely connected with the Holy Writ.

Apparently Rembrandt found in the sacred history something potent and stirring that appealed to his mighty genius. There is no doubt that like Holbein he was attracted by the genuinely human element that pervades the books of the Bible and lends them their perpetual and eternal charm. In reading the Scriptures he was probably struck by the universality of human experience, by the similarity of human passions and emotions through the ages, and his fingers itched to depict them in modern guise. Thus he seized upon every incident that lends itself to canvas and limned it with warm sympathy and undisguised relish going to the extent of making many variations on the same theme (e.g. the story of Saul and David, David and Bathsheba, Susanna and the Elders, the tale of Tobias of which alone he is known to have made 36 sketches). With one reservation: he purposely abstained as much as possible from brutal and ghastly scenes, such as the tower of Babylon, the catastrophe of the flood, and the actual crucifixion of Jesus, which are liable to shock rather than soothe. Rembrandt preferred the presentation of peaceful and idyllic images, such as the pathetic rejection

**Rembrandt-Bibel*. Zwei Bände mit 240 Abbildungen Altes und Neues Testament gewählt und eingeleitet von E. W. BREDT. (*Bilderschatz zur Weltliteratur*). München: HUGO SCHMIDT VERLAG, 1927-1928. Pp. XX+189 and 144.

of Hagar, the romantic story of Joseph, the adventure of Samson and Delilah, the idyl of Ruth, the romance of Esther, the story of the good Samaritan, the parable of the prodigal son, and similar incidents, or human experiences, in depicting which the artist reveals infinite finesse, great depth and remarkable power.

Needless to say, in these artistic creations of Rembrandt we meet with the same striking characteristics that are manifest in his major works: a peculiar concentration of brilliant light to offset thickly gathering shade, a magnificent display of Oriental opulence in dress and ornament, emphasis of character rather than beauty, and light rather than line, a subtle vein of humor which serves to soften the most serious subject (as, for instance, in "Samson Threatening his Father-in-law," in which picture the painter himself personifies Samson while the father-in-law is modelled after a typical Jew of Amsterdam), the use of contemporaneous Dutch models for ancient biblical figures, and, finally, the inimitably expressive power of the line in his etchings. Rembrandt's ideal of beauty is naturally different from that of Rafael and Michelangelo, as different as German is from Italian art: his figures are angular and verge on the homely whereas theirs are rotund and highly polished, his images are aerial and volatile while theirs are pompous and ponderous; and while we admire the fixity and finality of the latter we are in rapture over the versatility and fecundity evinced by the former. In a word, the Dutch artist evidently addresses the mind while the Italian masters speak to the senses and thrill the heart.

While Hebrew writing is not very rare in the paintings of the great masters of the Renaissance and their successors, still it is interesting to note that Rembrandt here employs it twice: in "Moses Breaking the Tablets" the last five commandments are given in bold Hebrew script, though not in the form customary among Jews, and in "Belshazzar Observing the Writing on the Wall" the words מָא מָא חָקַל וּפְרָסִין are given in a disjointed perpendicular arrangement so as to produce an air of mystery about them.

The present edition of the Rembrandt Bible, neatly and tastefully done and yet offered at a very moderate cost, fills a long felt desideratum and is a distinct boon to art lovers everywhere, especially since Hofstede de Groot's edition is very expensive and out of print. To suit the title of the book the corresponding biblical text has been added to every

sketch or picture, which also serves to make it more intelligible. In addition there is a scholarly introduction on Rembrandt and an appreciation of his art in its various manifestations. To this are added some data at the end of the book: important events in Rembrandt's life and their dates, grouping of the biblical pictures according to the year of production, and, finally, an alphabetical index of the pictures in conjunction with the places where they are found at the present time. Altogether a beautiful and admirable book which ought to grace the library of every connoisseur.

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WORKS ON ORIENTAL ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHAEOLOGY, according to Oswald Spengler, is "an expression of the sense that history is repetition."¹ Our interest in the subject would, then, be due not merely to a desire to become more intimate with the past, but largely also to a need for better comprehending the present and of obtaining a foothold for projecting ourselves into the future. Perhaps all of this is true; if so, however, many archaeologists are quite unaware of it. To them the intense fascination of the subject, the opportunity that archaeology affords of watching the infancy of mankind, so to speak, and of seeing the child grow, fully account for the constantly growing interest in the subject.

Walter Andrae has certainly no ulterior motives as an archaeologist. The excavator of Ashur would scarcely worry over the possible indications concerning the future of Berlin that may have been buried in the ruins of Qal'at Shergat. Andrae's work is a labor of love pursued for its own sake. If he frets at all, it is over the fate of some of the priceless objects from Ashur that were held up in a Portuguese port at the beginning of the war; they have since been scattered and have in many instances become untraceable. After seeing the beautiful reproductions of some of the specimens in Andrae's volume on painted ceramics from Ashur² one can hardly fail sharing the author's sentiments.

The volume before us consists of 36 colored plates, a brief introduction and an accompanying commentary. The author first accounts for the preference of the ancient and modern inhabitants of Mesopotamia for pronounced and strongly contrasted colors. For eight months in the year the country is so bleak and barren, the prevailing tone so dull and dusty, that the people naturally seek relief in bright colors, which are gaudy and yet blend remarkably well with the surroundings. Then follows a study of the wall-paintings from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, the earliest of which are assigned to the 13th century B. C. E. Painted pottery is

¹ *Decline of the West*, I. 4.

² *Farbige Keramik aus Assur und ihre Vorstufen in altassyrischen Wandmalereien*. Nach Aquarellen von Mitgliedern der Assur-Expedition und nach photographischen Aufnahmen von Originalen. Im Auftrage der deutschen Orientgesellschaft herausgegeben von WALTER ANDRAE. Berlin: SCARABAEUS VERLAG, 1923. Pp. 37+XXXVI.

dealt with next and the book closes with a discussion of ornamented figurines and wall-knobs. The plates aim at giving the original shades of the decorations; since colors of this type fade considerably upon being removed from the ground the members of the Ashur expedition reproduced the decorations in each case in water colors immediately after the discovery of the fragments in question. In this way a high degree of accuracy has been assured.

Andrae's discussion of the origin and development of the various *motifs* is very helpful and illuminating. Since the work appeared, new material has come to light and we are now in position to fill several important gaps in the exposition. The wall-paintings from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta were indeed until last year the oldest found in Mesopotamia. Last spring the Harvard-Baghdad School expedition to Nuzi, near Kirkuk, unearthed splendid specimens of frescoes, which can be definitely assigned to the end of the 16th century. These frescoes are more extensive and far more elaborate than the Assyrian ones and they presuppose a long period of development. At the same time we obtain an insight into the sources of Assyrian painting. The Nuzians were part of the Hurrian group of peoples; one branch of that group founded the Mitanni Empire with which the Assyrians had close and intimate contact, being subjected to its rulers for several centuries. The Hurri lands west of the Tigris were, judging from the political conditions then prevailing, even more advanced than the colonies to the east. The Assyrians had much to learn from their neighbors and masters, and the volume here reviewed shows that they were apt pupils.

The painted wall-nails, or knobs, were part of the same decorative scheme, as Andrae indicates, that was responsible for the wall-paintings; with utilitarian purposes they had nothing to do. Now such knobs have been found in Nuzi, too; they date from the same period as the frescoes. We are thus enabled to place the two related types of ornamentation several hundred years further back while indicating at the same time the source from which the Assyrians obviously drew.

As for the painted pottery, Andrae supposes that the geometric patterns on the specimens from Ashur go back ultimately to proto-Elamite types. This statement now requires a slight modification. Andrae is unquestionably right in linking the two types of ceramics; but whether the chain can be extended as far as Elam, even through the heirs of the civilization of Susa (p. 3), is very doubtful. Similar ware has recently been found in the earliest deposits of both Babylonia and Assyria. The brief excavations at Tepe Gawra disclosed a long established civilization,

which was characterized by the same type of painted pottery. The district of Niniveh, in which Tepe Gawra lies, is less than a hundred miles north of Ashur. the Assyrians, then could learn in this case, too, from their neighbors. As to the ultimate focus of this painted-pottery civilization we are still in doubt; when it comes to light in a number of wide-apart centers, it seems to be contemporaneous with its congeners. For the time being, at least, we cannot regard Susa as the original disseminating center. It is more likely that the proto-Elamites and the earliest Mesopotamians brought their art from a common source.

The book is characterized by the same scholarly thoroughness and the fine sensitiveness of the artist that mark every work of Andrae. It is beautifully gotten up and is a pleasure to handle, credit for which must in a large measure go to the publishers. No student of ancient art can afford to ignore this volume.

Considerably different in scope is Professor Langdon's book on *Excavations at Kish*.³ Here we are taken to southern Babylonia and introduced to a period whose beginnings reach far into the fourth millennium B. C. E. The excavations at Kish rival those at Ur both in the thoroughness with which the work has been conducted for a period of years, and in the importance of the site studied. The volume here reviewed is the first of a series of general reports by the director of the expedition; complete archaeological discussions will be furnished by the field directors.

Professor Langdon gives us first a brief and comprehensive history of the city of Kish as illustrated by the cuneiform texts. The temples of Harsagkalamma and Emete-ursag, the topography of Kish, the palace of the Sumerian period, and the tablets discovered, are treated in separate chapters; racial and linguistic problems, and travels in the area south of Kish are dealt with in the other sections, while the type of stylus used in ancient writing is also singled out for a special discussion. In an appendix prepared by Mr. Buxton a report is presented on the human remains excavated at Kish. The volume is richly illustrated.

Langdon's amazing learning is a constant guarantee that a volume by him will contain much important and authoritative information. The present book is no exception. There are a few statements to which the reviewer would, however, take exception; two of these will be pointed out here:

³ *Excavations at Kish*. The Herbert Weld (for the University of Oxford) and Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) Expedition to Mesopotamia. By S. LANGDON, M. A., Shillito Reader and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford. Volume I. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, 1924. Pp. 128+L.

Langdon identifies the much-sought Agade, a city that gave its name to the whole of northern Babylonia, with the modern Tel Ed-Deir, a few miles from the ruins of ancient Sippar. The reviewer is not convinced that there are enough grounds for such an identification. I visited the site in the winter of 1926 as guest of Doctors Andrae and Jordan, of the Berlin Museums. The impressive high walls which enclose the central mounds are obviously the work of a time long after Agade had seen its best days; on the other hand, the mounds within the compound are too small and insignificant to hide the ruins of the older Sargon's capital. The cuneiform letters which Langdon cites in support of his statement are few and inconclusive, especially as the name Agade is not mentioned in them. It is true that Agade must be sought in the neighborhood of Sippar; perhaps further excavation in Sippar proper would settle the problem. For the present we cannot as yet be definite about the matter.

That "the Sumerian may be now definitely classified as an Armenoid" (p. 64) also requires further proof. This rather surprising statement is apparently based on the conclusions of Mr. Buxton, who examined the skulls found at Kish and summed up his results in the appendix to the volume. But it is Mr. Buxton himself who confesses that in his suggestions he has been guided by a "small number of defective skulls" (p. 125). "The conclusions"—Buxton adds—"cannot be considered as more than tentative." Langdon's "definitely" is therefore likely to be misleading. We should all be happy to have the Sumerian problem settled once for all; unfortunately, the evidence at hand is still insufficient for a satisfactory solution.

With the next book⁴ we are back again in the domain of art as distinguished from general archaeology. The particular type of art discussed here is that of the seal cutter, and the area to which the study is confined is the seat of the Syro-Hittite culture, comprising northern Syria and Asia Minor and showing numerous contacts with northern Mesopotamia. There are good studies of ancient seals in general, but this is the first work devoted exclusively to the Syro-Hittite variety; and in view of the fact that the author has successfully established the thesis of the distinctness and individuality of the type of seals which he investigates, the well-written book assumes an added importance.

The origins of the art of seal engraving go back, Contenau points out, to a proto-Mesopotamian civilization of which the Sumerian, Baby-

⁴ *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite*. Par G. CONTENAU. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, 1922. XII+217+XLVII.

Ionian, Assyrian, and Syro-Hittite varieties are direct descendants; hence the general relationship among these groups. The differences are due, secondarily, to changed environment within which each of these types developed. A number of heterogeneous races were thus lined up, in this respect, under the same banner. Nevertheless, race played a part—the author thinks—in determining the *shape* of the seals; the Semites preferred, and probably originated, the cylindrical type; the non-Semites, whether Sumerians, Elamites or Hittites, betray a partiality for the flat, unrolled seal (p. 62). The suggestion is interesting even if it cannot be supported by absolutely conclusive evidence. Contenau further believes that the "gable" seal should be classed among the oldest, possibly in the first half of the third millennium. This assumption is unquestionably correct; in Cappadocia there are no older seals and the appearance of the "gables" cannot therefore be placed earlier. But this particular type is contemporaneous with the geometrical painted pottery of the fourth millennium. The reviewer was fortunate enough to discover a well preserved "gable" at Tepe Gawra in a so-called Proto-Elamite deposit.

Contenau divides the glyptic art of the Syro-Hittites into three periods. The first begins with the Cappadocian age (2400) and continues as far as the sixteenth century; the second period carries us down to the eleventh, and the last to the sixth century. In the second period Aegean influence makes itself felt; the seals of Kirkuk and those of Gezer both show Cypriote affinities in spite of the distance between Kirkuk and the Palestinian site. This Contenau considers as proof that the elements peculiar to all three civilizations are derived from Cyprus. I think that the question is open to dispute. The similarities are indeed too marked to be merely accidental; they must correspond to a common cultural background. We know at present that this background was Hurrian.⁵ But since the assumption that the Hurrians came from Cyprus would be an exceedingly fanciful one, all traces pointing rather to northern Syria or eastern Asia Minor and Armenia, the center of dissemination of the "Cypriote" seals, and of the contemporary "Cypriote" art, should be sought in the original home of the Hurrians. The location suggested above is sufficiently central to account for the spread of the elements in question to Mesopotamia in the east, Cyprus in the west, and Palestine in the south. It can also be supported by other evidence, linguistic and archaeological; but this is not the place for such a discussion. For the

⁵ Cf. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI (1926), Pp. 77 ff.

present I merely wish to recommend Dr. Contenau's book as a judicious, lucid, and thoroughly reliable contribution to an interesting subject.

Another work of Contenau, which has recently appeared, is at once more general and more comprehensive than his study of Syro-Hittite seals.⁶ The author's *Handbook of Oriental Archaeology* will present, when completed, a picture of the art of Hither Asia, from Elam to Asia Minor and from Armenia to Palestine. The work will be based primarily on the archaeological remains of these countries; but since monuments cannot be properly appraised without some knowledge of their creators, the volume before us is largely devoted to such general questions as geography, ethnology, chronology, philology, systems of writing, religion, social institutions, and the like. These introductory remarks require close to four hundred pages and less than a hundred pages is devoted to archaeology proper, in a chapter on the archaic art of Elam and Sumeria. The rest is to follow in a second instalment. Such an arrangement seems rather illogical; from the reader's point of view it would have been better to close the first volume at the end of the introductory considerations and to reserve the brief section on archaic art for the next book. Bibliography has always been Contenau's strong point and in this work, too, we have a selected but very valuable summary of the principal works on the subject, arranged according to the main chapters of the book.

In a handbook such as this one cannot expect, of course, much that is new and original; what is required is a summing up of the work already done and the author presents it with admirable lucidity. Where his opinions differ from those generally held, the writer's views are presented for the sake of comparison, but the reader is always enabled to draw his own conclusions. Thus e. g., the most important theories concerning the origin of the Sumerians are tabulated; Contenau himself suggests that the Sumerians were the highest developed representatives of a group that colonized Hither Asia in a series of successive migrations. This would account for the numerous similarities between the several cultures appearing at the dawn of history, explaining at the same time the marked individual variations (p. 122). No definite point of origin for these migrations is suggested.

As regards the Semites, the author reduces the current theories as to their origin, to the Arabian and the Amurru hypotheses. Personally he inclines towards the Amorite theory of Clay, thus espousing the minority

⁶ *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*. Depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque d'Alexandre. Par le Dr. G. CONTENAU. I. Notions générales. Histoire de l'art. Paris: AUGUSTE PICARD. 1927. Pp. 545.

view (pp. 123 f.). On the question of relationship between the civilizations of Susa I and II Contenau agrees with Pottier that the two cultures were produced by the same race. To account for the considerable departures of the second style from the first one, Contenau calls again upon the theory of successive migrations from one original source. The common home explains the similarities: the difference in time between the two waves is sufficient, the author thinks, to account for the indisputable divergences.

Many controversial points are thus touched upon even though the work is general in scope. It would be indeed unusual if one could agree with the author on every subject. Everyone, however, who has read the book will admit that Contenau's latest work will be greatly appreciated by all those who have been looking for a convenient introduction to the vast subject of oriental archaeology.

SUMERIAN RELIGIOUS TEXTS

DR. CHIERA's ideas about utilizing one's vacation-periods appear to be, to judge from his own results, remarkably sound for all their attractiveness and novelty. Any one who contrives to vary his summers in Philadelphia with a stay in Stamboul, and to bring with him from his trip a volume of new religious material instead of some antiquated and inconsequential "travel impressions," shows certainly good judgment apart from adding to his well-established reputation as a fine scholar.

The volume of texts selected from the material which Dr. Chiera succeeded in copying in the Musée d'Antiquités de Stamboul (formerly Imperial Ottoman Museum) contains all types of Sumerian religious literature.⁷ Among the 53 selections which this opening publication of the new Babylonian series, started by the Crozer Theological Seminary, offers to scholars there are hymns, litanies, large sections of legendary epics, and fragments of creation stories. The Introduction gives a brief description of each text, stating its general character and calling attention to the duplicates, published and un-

⁷ *Sumerian Religious Texts*. By EDWARD CHIERA. (CROZER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Babylonian Publications, Volume I). Upland, Pa. 1924. Pp. 41 + pl. I.XXII.

published, which are quite numerous for the more important compositions. The identification alone of many of the duplicates is an important contribution to Sumerian studies, which scholars cannot fail to appreciate. Two of the texts are of especial importance and the editor recognizes the fact in giving a full transliteration and translation of the documents in question.

The first bears on the recently reopened question of the connection of the Amorites with the beginnings of Semitic civilization.⁸ It contains a *šir gid-da* "long song" in praise of the god MAR. TU. (Amurru). In the charming first part of the song we see the wistful young MAR. TU complaining pathetically to his mother of his loneliness, and asking her to provide him with a wife. Kindly Nin-*hur-sag* (SU. NUN. NA in variants) naturally finds no difficulty in arranging a match for so marriageable a bachelor.

It is not, however, the lyrical contents of the composition in which the participants in the Amorite controversy, who are not always in a pastoral mood, are at present interested. The second part of the song is in this case more relevant. For the compiler of the legend, having seen MAR. TU happily married, goes on to describe the former condition of the Amorites, who had lived the life of uncouth savages: (p. 20)

"He eats uncooked food,

"Throughout his life a house he does not possess,

"His dead companion he buries not."

As the author points out, there are here two possible lines of interpretation. 1: The tablet is very old; all the gods mentioned here are Amorites; conclusion: the Amorites were the originators of the Babylonian civilization. Or 2 (and Chiera inclines to this latter view): the early Amorites are described here as barbarians; other Sumerian literature dwells on the same fact, which would be meaningless, had the Sumerians themselves been in the same primitive state; (p. 22) conclusion: the Amorite civilization is of later origin than that of Babylonia. Although the logic of either argument is not unassailable, there is, nevertheless, a greater show of reason in favor of the latter conclusion.

The other tablet which Chiera transliterates is even more interesting as it contains (with gaps supplied from half a dozen duplicates) a presentation of the early history of the human race. Cf. especially the following lines: (19-25, p. 29)

⁸ The term *Semitic* is used here in its only legitimate sense i.e. that of a people or peoples who spoke a Semitic language.

"Mankind, at the time of their appearance,
 "Bread for eating they knew not,
 "Garments for clothing they knew not.
 "The people walked with the (four) limbs upon the ground.
 "They ate grass with their mouth like sheep.
 "They drank water from the ditches."

These few lines show that, as regards differences of opinion concerning the origin of mankind, Nippur anticipated Dayton by some 4000 years. The texts, however, afford no indication of anything remotely approaching the zeal and intensity injected into present day controversies regarding the origin of the race.

The texts are copied with Chiera's usual care. The volume is gotten up very attractively and the Crozer Theological Seminary is to be congratulated for opening its series with so important a contribution to Sumerian scholarship. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon President Milton G. Evans, of whose unfailing and unselfish interest in scientific research this volume is but another instance. May the example set by him and by the institution which he heads be followed by many others.

RECENT HITTITE LITERATURE

The problem of the wider linguistic affiliations of Hittite once settled,⁹ scholars have begun to turn their attention to the more constructive task of studying the newly unearthed language from within itself. Etymological speculations have been either given up in favor of, or made secondary to, an independent study of the numerous texts that have been published so far.¹⁰ As a result of this philologically sounder policy translations of Hittite texts, with or without an accompanying transliteration, and occasionally with a philological commentary, have been appearing of late with comparative frequency. The work of the well-known classical and Indo-European scholar Ferdinand Sommer has been particularly sound and fruitful.

⁹ That Hittite is akin to the Indo-European languages has been admitted among others by Ferdinand Sommer. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 24 (1921), 317, *Boghazköi-Studien* 4. 1, and Gustav Herbig, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 183 (1921), 193-218.

¹⁰ Primarily in the '*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*' (KBo) and the '*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*' (KUB).

One of the latest additions to the rapidly growing Hittite philological literature is a selection from the Hittite cuneiform texts transliterated and translated by the versatile German scholar P. Maurus Witzel.¹¹ A brief introduction, which gives a comprehensive account of the history of the language up to date, is followed by an edition and translation of 11 texts selected from historical, religious, and legal material. Among them are "The Chronicle of Hattušiliš" (pp. 1-33), "Rituals for Laying the Foundations of a Temple" (pp. 76-86), and the first tablet of "The Hittite Code" (132-173). A "Prayer of Mursiliš" is given in the appendix (pp. 174-176). The volume is to be followed by another which will contain a commentary on the texts published in the present one.

To argue about the numerous points in Witzel's translation which the reviewer might consider erroneous or doubtful would be to ignore the fact that the study of Hittite is only in its infancy. In every growing structure much is of necessity tentative and ephemeral. A single new text brought to light to-morrow may cause a modification or even a complete change in views that are held to-day about an obscure point in the grammar or a troubling problem in the lexicography of Hittite or of any other newly deciphered language.

What might, however, be reasonably expected of a scholar is a degree of accuracy in what is not doubtful, and of reliability as to information that can be obtained from any dictionary or handbook of grammar of the subject in question. The meaning of many Hittite words may very often be uncertain. But the interpretation of a Sumerian ideogram or of some of the Akkadian words in which the Hittite texts abound, is not infrequently well known. It does not require an especially profound knowledge of Semitic to know that Akkadian *bēl* 'owner, master' often signifies the possession of a quality and that, consequently, the translation of *bēl dīni* by 'Gerichtsherr' (p. 7. 45) is just as infelicitous as it would be to render *bēl ḫilli* by 'Sündenherr' or *bēl ḫablati* as 'the master of destruction!' It is not less evident that in *IM-te-ia* 'my strength' (p. 12. 22, 14. 47) *IM* alone is Sumerian whereas *te-ia* (and not *ia*) is the Akkadian complement. KBo III 6 Col. II 62 (p. 16) is not to be read *mār*-(Hitt)*uš-meš* (sign of plural) but *IBILA*+pl. sign. Similarly Witzel's reading of KUB I p. 12. 11 (p. 22) is not to be approved. For the *(DI)-NI-eš-sar* which is there given is justified neither by the texts

¹¹ *Helthitische Keilschrift-Urkunden in Transkription und Uebersetzung mit Kommentar* von P. MAURUS WITZEL (*Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft 4.). Fulda: FULDAER AKTIENDRUCKEREI, 1924. Pp. XV+176.

(there are a few fragmentary duplicates) nor by Hittite usage. The Hittite word for 'law, judgement' is *hannaššar* (cf. for an earlier passage of the text in question *ha-an-na-aš-ša-ni* (KBo III 6 Col. I 34) with the variant *DI-eš-ni* (KUB I 1. 40)). When written ideographically with a Hittite ending it is always *DI* (Sumerian) + *šar*, *aššar*. (cf. Hrozny, *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, p. 219.) A combination of an Akkadian *DI-NI* with the Hittite ending *-šar*, *-eššar* has not been hitherto proved. But in restoring the passage in question we are not left entirely to conjecture. One duplicate (KUB I. 17 (nr. 9) 1) has *DI-eš-šar*. Another (ibid 17. 10. 15) shows *-an-ni-aš-ni* quite distinctly. What is to Witzel "gewiss nur der Rest von *DI*," by a process graphically unintelligible, is nothing else than the second part of *an*. His text read *-ha-an-ni-eš-ni*, the duplicate *DI-eš-ni*.

Witzel's selection Nr. X has not been interpreted correctly by the author. Aside from the fact that Witzel insists on seeing in the document in question a parallel to the Azazel-offerings,¹² (the text is called "A Hittite Parallel to the Hebrew Goat-offering for Azazel"), the translation of a number of passages is sufficiently doubtful to give the reader an entirely wrong conception of this, in itself very interesting, ritual text. A new edition of the latter by Sommer and Ehelolf has recently appeared in the '*Boghazköi Studien*'¹³, and a very cursory comparison of these two attempts will suffice to demonstrate to the student that Witzel has been less successful in his interpretation of the text than the other two German scholars. With a language like Hittite, however, such differences of interpretation are to be expected. But the unquestionably greater degree of accuracy attained in the joint work of Sommer and Ehelolf is an additional argument for greater caution and more reserve in works of similar nature.

Although the edition of the text is fairly accurate mistakes have crept in here and there. Thus e. g. p. 6. 43 should be *me-hu-u-ni*, and *dur-mi-il-ta-ma-aš* p. 14. 36 does not have the determinative for god before it as is the case with Witzel's copy. The textual notes are reliable without aiming at completeness. It is evident that Father Witzel proceeds about his work with care as well as with the enthusiasm of

¹² Scholars have been often carried away in search for superficial parallels by apparent resemblances in documents better known than the Hittite sources. Most of the fables of Aesop have been compared with the Panchatantra stories with much less show of reason.

¹³ *Das hethitische Ritual des Pāpanikri von Komana*, by FERDINAND SOMMER and HANS EHELOLF in *Boghazköi Studien* X, 1924.

one who sets himself to explore another "terra incognita," as he himself puts it (Intro^d. I). It is, therefore, to be hoped that the forthcoming volumes which he has announced will merit the praise that is commensurate with the kind of industry of which his present volume bears ample evidence.

University of Pennsylvania

EPHRAIM A. SPEISER

MEDIAEVAL JEWISH TEXTS¹

THE chief work for the study of Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles is the compendium under that title by Neubauer (Oxford, 1887), which offers, *inter alia*, the Aramaic-Hebrew text of Sherira Gaon's *Responsum*, and the Hebrew text of Abraham ibn Daud ha-Levi's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* with the Supplement to it by Abraham ben Solomon of Torrutiel, the last chapter of Joseph ibn Zaddiq of Arévalo's *Sefer Zeker Zaddiq*, and extracts from Nathan ben Isaac ha-Kohen ha-Babli's *History of the Exilarchate*. In addition, we may enumerate for bibliographical expediency (1) Sherira Gaon's *Responsum*: Aramaic-Heb. ed. with a Lat. translation by J. Wallerstein (Breslau, 1861), Aramaic-Heb. ed. by B. Lewin (Haifa, 1921); (2) Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*: Heb. ed. with a Lat. translation by G. Générard (Mantua, 1516), German translation by M. Katz (Bern, 1907), Spanish translation by J. Bages (Granada, 1922); (3) Abraham ben Solomon's Supplement to it: Heb. ed. by Harkavy in Rabinovich's Heb. translation of Grätz's "Geschichte der Juden," IV (Warsaw, 1898), Spanish translation by J. Bages (Granada, 1923), Spanish translation by F. Cantera Burgos (Salamanca, 1928); (4) Joseph ibn Zaddiq's *Sefer Zeker Zaddiq*, chap. 50: Spanish translation by *idem*; (5) Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto's *Sefer ha-Yuhasin*: complete Heb. ed. by P. H. Filipowski (London, 1857) with notes by J. H. Emden; (6) Nathan ben Isaac's *History of the Exilarchate*: extracts in S. Shullam's ed. of Zacuto's *Sefer ha-Yuhasin* (Constantinople, 1566), English translation of a part of Neubauer's extracts in B. Halper's "Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature" (Phila., 1921).

Our attention will be focused upon the Spanish versions. That of Señor Bages is quite defective. Professor Cantera used the valuable review of it by J. M. Millás, *Boletín de la R. Acad. de la Hist.*, LXXXVIII (1926), p. 424-437, as well as the important article by I. Loeb, *Rev. ét. juives*, XVII (1888), p. 74-87, in offering his splendid translation. He based it on the edition of Neubauer, while consulting that of Harkavy.

¹ *El Libro de la Cabala de Abraham ben Salomón de Torrutiel y Un fragmento histórico de José ben Zaddic de Arévalo*: Traducción española, prólogo y notas de F. CANTERA BURGOS, Catedrático de Hebreo en la Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1928), 71 p.

Sr. Cantera, already known for his accurate translation of Ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehudah*, adds an introductory study, notes, and indices of proper and geographical names to his present rendering of the Supplement by Abraham ben Solomon and of the last chapter of Joseph ibn Zaddiq's *Memory of the Just*.

The Supplement to the *Book of Tradition* is the only work by Abraham ben Solomon extant. It was written in Fez about 1510 and is preserved in a MS., copied about 1600, found by Harkavy in the Orient in 1866 and given by him to the Bodleian Library. In the Preface, the author states his intention of continuing the work of the same title written by Abraham ibn Daud in 1161. Ibn Daud lists the generations of learned men, especially in the time of the Geonim and in Judæo-Spanish history up to his day. His work has been widely used by both Jewish and Christian scholars. Elbogen (*Enc. Jud.*, I, col. 438) gives us some of his sources: Saadia's *Sefer ha-Galui*, a polemic extant only in a few fragments, Samuel ben Hofni's *Madkhal ila 'al-Talmud*, of which only a few citations are extant, Sherira Gaon's *Responsum* to the community of Kairwan, Nathan ben Isaac's *History of the Exilarchate*.

Abraham ben Solomon's epitome furnishes many data not found elsewhere. It is divided into three parts. Chapter I lists 17 Rabbis omitted by Ibn Daud, with special reference to Abraham Ibn Ezra, Jacob ben Meïr Tam, Isaac ben Samuel ha-Zaken, and Ibn Daud himself. Chapter II deals with some 70 scholars who lived between 1180, the date of Ibn Daud's death, to 1463, the date of Isaac ben Jacob Campanton's death. The author's great respect for the latter—who wrote merely a methodology of the Talmud—must be due to Campanton's having been his father's teacher. Solomon of Torrutiell is known to have died in Fez in the year following the expulsion. Chapter III gives an account of the learned men who flourished from 1463 to 1510, of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, of King Manuel's harsh treatment of the Jews in Portugal, of the fortunes of the exiles in Fez, and a history of the Kings that ruled in Spain from Ferdinand I to Ferdinand V. In the Preface, Abraham promises to add what Zacuto has to say concerning the events that happened between 1510 and 1525, but Baer (*Enc. Jud.*, I, col. 536) considers that merely an interpolation.

The chronicle of Joseph Ibn Zaddiq is shorter but more reliable than that of Abraham. It does not betray any spiteful reaction to the Inquisition, and it does not separate the history of the Jews from that of the co-eval Spanish monarchs. Neubauer (*op. cit.*, I, p. XIV) considered it the source for Abraham ben Solomon. It is indeed a knotty problem to

determine to just what extent these historiographers plagiarized from or influenced one another. Professor Cantera (p. 8) accepts the statement of Baer (*ibid.*) that they drank out of the same source, "das aus einer Chronologie der jüdischen Gelehrten und einem sehr dürftigen Auszug aus einer bekannten spanischen Weltchronik bestand," and lets it go at that. Thus are made available to him who runs from Hebrew in order to read Spanish three epitomes which, despite their close affinity, must all be consulted by the student of mediæval Jewish chronicles.

RAPHAEL LEVY

University of Wisconsin

SEGAL'S ELEMENTS OF HEBREW PHONETICS*

THE author says in the preface to his work on the Elements of Hebrew Phonetics that he has chiefly confined himself to the elucidating of the Tiberian system of pronunciation. Joseph Kimchi's theory in regard to ten vowel points and their division into five long ones and five short ones, has, according to this author (p. 134) caused great confusion in Hebrew orthography (חורר הנקוד) and in the entire Hebrew grammar. However when we examine the theory offered by Segal himself, we find it less satisfactory than Kimchi's. For Segal divides the Tiberian system of vowel points not only into long and short ones, but into long and very long ones and short and very short ones. There are in his system, besides the שווא נע, eighteen vowels. The quadruple division of the vowels is arranged in a table on page 45. On page 48 the same vowels are arranged in a table of a different order into a triple division of back (tongue) vowels, middle (tongue) vowels and front (tongue) vowels. According to the author there are in the Tiberian system two kinds of חולם. One he names חולם קיים immutable holem as $\dot{\text{u}}$ representing the sound of (au) O; and another he calls חולם אי קיים mutable holem, a dot without a $\dot{\text{u}}$ representing the sound of O. As a matter of fact all the ancient Hebrew grammarians who preceded Abraham de Balme maintained that there is no difference whatever between a חולם with a $\dot{\text{u}}$ and a חולם without a $\dot{\text{u}}$. That their view is the correct one is proved by the fact that in the Bible we have indiscriminate uses of these two *holems* even in the same word, as in Genesis, chapter 2, verse 4 חולדות, in chapter 5, verse 1 חולדת, in chapter 25, verse 12, חולדת in chapter 36, verse 1 חולדת. Also in chapter 1, verse 14, we have מארה while in chapter 1, verse 15 we have לקמורה. There can be no doubt whatever that the Tiberian Masoretes who invented the vowel points made no distinction in the pronunciation of the *holem*, whether it was accompanied by a $\dot{\text{u}}$ or was without a $\dot{\text{u}}$. Neither did the inventors of the vowel points make any distinction in the pronunciation of the צירה whether it was followed by a $\dot{\text{u}}$ or not.

* יסודי הפניטיקה העברית. חקירה בהברון העברי וחולדותיו בצירוף טבלות וציורים מאת משה צבי סגל (ספריה היסטורית-פילולוגית י"ל ע"י... יהודה יונוביץ). ירושלים, תרפ"ח. VIII+151+4 דפים.

Due to a printer's or a proof reader's error, and the author's oversight, the *צירה אי קיים* in the table of vowel points on page 48 is missing in the table on page 45. It is also strange that on page 11, among the six explosives the *ק* is given instead of the *כ*—as *ב, פ, ת, ד, ג, ק*. On page 19 in the heading of paragraph 33, the *ק* and the *כ* are counted among the explosives and the *ט* is also included, but the *ב* and the *פ* have both been omitted as *ת, ד, ט, כ, ג, ק*. On page 26, however, the explosives are given as *פ, ג, ת, ד, כ, ב*.

There are some other faults in this work, but there are also many valuable points by which the reader may be benefited.

A QUOTATION FROM MAḤSOR VITRI

By an oversight I failed to indicate by ellipses in the quotation from Maḥsor Vitri [*JQR* N.S. Vol. 19 p. 479] that some words which I thought unnecessary for a correct understanding of the quotation had been omitted. The omission was noted and brought to the attention of the Editor by Rabbi Charles Blumenthal of Waco, Texas. I accordingly repeat this quotation without any omissions.

אבל סימני הנגינות סופרים הוא שתקנום. ולפיכך אין ניקוד טברני דומה לניקוד שלנו. ולא שניהם דומים לניקוד ארץ ישראל. ומפני שהטעמים והנגינות משתכחין הוא שתקנום. סמכו על מה שאמר הכת' עת לעשות לי' הפרו תורתך (תהלים קי"ט). ולפיכך לא ניתן ספר תורה לניקוד. שאע"פ שניתנו פסוקי הטעמים ונגינות הקרייה מסיני במסורה, דכת' ושם שכל (נחמיה ח') על פה נאמרו, ולא בסימני נקידה בספר. (מחזור ויטרי 462).

PHINEAS MORDELL

Philadelphia

THE STORY OF THE JEWS

THE Levingers' latest book¹ is a welcome addition to the small, but growing number of Jewish history textbooks which make an effort to include modern educational ideas. "The Story of the Jew" covers the history of the Jewish people from antiquity to about 1926, and is written for "young people of the confirmation and post-confirmation age." In the second edition of the book, the authors have incorporated a few of the suggestions made by Mr. Golub in his review of the first edition in *Jewish Education*, for January 1929. The book also contains questions, topics for reports and debates, and references for pupils and teachers, as well as "additional matter: index, maps, charts and illustrations."

It would have enhanced the value of the book if the visual aids were more numerous. In the entire 275 pages of text, there are only seven charts, three maps and four illustrations! Compare this attempt in visual aids with any of the modern texts on general history used in the public schools! Moreover, in giving references, the authors ought to add the exact pages as well as the names of the books. Writers of children's textbooks must always bear in mind the fact that they are writing for children who must receive specific directions. Like many other authors, the Levingers have included too much in *one* textbook. Even to present the minimum number of necessary facts of Jewish history, more than one volume is needed in a series of history texts.

Nevertheless, the Levingers and other textbook writers should be commended for their attempts; for *mittok shelo lishmah ba lishmah*. We learn by trial and failure. As a result of many attempts and suggestions, successful textbooks for Jewish schools will finally be produced.

SAMUEL SUSSMAN

Philadelphia

¹ *The Story of the Jew for Young People*, by ELMA E. LEVINGER and LEE J. LEVINGER. BEHRMAN'S JEWISH BOOK SHOP. New York, 1929. (Second edition). pp. x + 302.

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the tannaitic authorities of the Mishnah, indicating in every instance the principles which led to the particular decisions.

Dr. Jacob Mann throws additional light on the Palestinian ritual from Genizah fragments which he discovered in the Cambridge collection. He brings together twenty-one fragments, more or less complete, covering practically the whole range of the liturgy, daily, Sabbaths and holidays and even special home prayers, adding numerous notes and providing each one with detailed introductions. He also permits himself frequently to make excursions in the further discussion of some moot points, presenting new light and novel suggestions, as for instance his discussion of the place of the Ten Commandments in the liturgy and the custom of concluding a blessing with Amen, about which opinions and rites differ considerably. The author is fully cognizant of the difficulty of establishing the rite in vogue in Palestine, although all these manuscripts come from the "Palestine Synagogue" of Fustat. He admits the existence of the Babylonian rite in Egypt and even suggests the possibility of the blending of the two rites in one or the other synagogue or in all of them. The value of these fragments and the explanatory notes accompanying them is by no means impaired by these doubts, honestly postulated at the very beginning of the article.

In a brief article on "The Origin of the Tahanun," Solomon B. Freehof endeavors to show that practically all the Tahanun prayers found in the various rituals, with the exception of that of Saadia, are based on the individual prayers of the Rabbis of the Talmud, of which thirteen have been preserved. In analysing these prayers, the author finds them all to be of a nature that would fit them for public service and related in one way or another to the blessings of the Amidah, after the recitation of which they were inserted.

That many customs and ceremonies in Jewish life may have had a superstitious or even a heathen origin can hardly be doubted. However, Jewish genius and adaptability have given to these observances ethical or religious meanings and thus made them valuable assets for the preservation of the religious life. Dr. Jacob Z. Lauterbach presents an attractive theory regarding the development of many Jewish ceremonies, taking the ceremony of breaking a glass at weddings as an example whereby his idea is illustrated. He admits from the start that he would treat it not from the standpoint of comparative folklore, although that would have been exceedingly interesting. He simply develops the thought that the ceremony carried with it through Jewish history and the changes it underwent in the course of centuries. The only reference

to this ceremony in the Talmud is found in connection with two incidents related in Ber. 30b, occurring at the weddings of a son of Mar the son of Rabina and of a son of Rab Ashi, both belonging to the last period of the Babylonian Amoraim. There is no mention of this custom throughout the period of the Geonim and other Rabbinic authorities up to the time of R. Eliezer b. Nathan of Mayence (RABaN), who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century. It is rather hazardous, under these conditions, to assert that this was an old established custom among Jews. It is even questionable whether the stories as related in the Talmud present an established custom or an isolated incident. Lauterbach's assumption that the original reason for this custom was to drive away or to propitiate the evil demons and the proof which he adduces for this from the preceding and following stories in the text is not at all convincing. There the whole tenor of the text is that it is not proper to indulge in excessive joy in this world. Life is a serious matter and great hilarity might make us forget the earnestness of life. This thought finds expression in many places in Rabbinic literature and even in some communal institutions. The fact that there is no other mention in early Rabbinic literature of the custom of breaking a glass at weddings is no proof that it did not exist, but it makes its existence then extremely doubtful. It is in this connection that comparative folklore would be of great service as it is quite likely that the custom was borrowed by the Jews. However, the author has made a valuable contribution in collecting all the data on the subject from medieval literature, even if his conclusions are not generally accepted.

"The Law of Nature, Hugo Grotius and the Bible" is the subject of an elaborate article by Dr. Isaac Husik. Dr. Husik first explains the meaning of the term "law of nature" and its development through ancient Greek and later Roman philosophy and law. He then asserts that the Jews have failed to develop a philosophy of law. Just as they indulged but little in speculative theology they also abstained from theorizing about law. He could find but few references in Talmudic literature and even in later Rabbinic and philosophic writings to any subtle distinctions among different classes of laws, such as were made by the Stoics or later Christian writers. Perhaps the seven Noahide laws, which the Rabbis mentioned so often, were understood by them in the sense of natural laws, as understood by the Stoics. In the second chapter, Dr. Husik takes up for special consideration the famous work of Hugo Grotius "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*" and tries to point out the extensive use made by this great Dutch lawyer of the Bible and even of the Jewish commentators

on the Bible. Dr. Husik quotes copiously from that work, presenting the manner of interpretation adopted by Grotius and his attitude towards biblical law and in general toward biblical writings. There is a refreshingly broad tolerance and deep understanding permeating this great work and it is well that these excerpts be again and again presented to the public, even of modern days.

Dr. David Philipson presents, as the last article in this volume, several letters addressed to Dr. Samuel Adler, Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, which throw some light on the early history of the reform movement in Germany and in this country. These include a letter by Dr. I. M. Wise, two letters by Ludwig Philippson, a letter by Abraham Geiger and a lengthy letter by Dr. Kohler, before his arrival in the United States. An interesting letter from Moritz Lazarus to the Faculty of the Hebrew Union College, thanking them for the honorary degree of D. D. which they conferred upon him in 1895, concludes the article as well as the volume.

The third volume (1926), which is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Kaufman Kohler, begins with a contribution by Michael Guttman on the use of the term *nokri* in the Bible. The author is apparently unfamiliar with the illuminating study on the terms *nokri* and *ger* of the late Mayer Sulzberger, in his "The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel," although he refers to his earlier book on the Law of Homicide. However, he seemed to have come to a similar conclusion regarding the meaning of *nokri*, as a complete stranger, who comes to the land for only a short while, although Sulzberger considers him a "hostile stranger." Our author takes considerable pains to explain the law which allows the taking of interest from the *nokri*, on the ground that he was usually a trader coming to the country for a short while, and desirous of maintaining his relationship with his native land. Such a stranger would undoubtedly not hesitate to take interest from an Israelite, therefore it would have been unfair to make the law of interest in relation to the stranger binding upon Israelites. He also goes into a discussion as to the relation of the *nokri* to the laws of homicide, quoting the various Rabbinic decisions on this point.

An elaborate treatise on "Musical Instruments in OT" is contributed by Sol Baruch Finesinger. The author takes up in detail the various stringed and wind instruments found in the Bible and discusses them in the light of the various interpretations given to these terms by ancient and modern exegetes. A useful bibliography is appended to the article.

Dr. Morgenstern supplements his article on the "Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," which appeared in the first volume of the *Annual*, by a

number of additional notes and excursuses, which throw additional light on the main thesis and also clarify a number of related points of considerable interest. The longest of these is the excursus on the calendar of Enoch and of Jubilees, where the author takes sides against Epstein's well-known study of this subject.

In "Some Notes to the Text of the Scriptures," Dr. Joseph Reider continues his interesting suggestions with regard to the meaning of some obscure words and phrases. The Arabic language is so rich in vocabulary that it is possible to find in it support for many a novel rendering of difficult Hebrew roots and Dr. Reider often resorts to the Arabic for corroboration of a suggested reading that he offers. Almost one half of his notes deal with the book of Job and in most instances his interpretation involves an emendation of the text, although often apparently plausible.

From a number of haggadic passages, which he presents, Dr. V. Aptowitzer seeks to establish the fact that the Rabbis of the Talmud believed that reward and punishment are meted out to animals and even inanimate things in the same manner as they are to human beings. This is contrary to the opinion of Maimonides who, in his argument against the Mutazilist doctrine, says that "nothing was heard of this in our faith in the olden times, and the teachers of the Talmud likewise mention nothing thereof." While the collection of these references is extremely interesting and valuable, it is doubtful whether the statement of Maimonides is refuted thereby. The Mutazilist belief was that there was retribution for animals in a future world, in the same manner as that prescribed for human beings and that this retribution is individual. In all the haggadic passages quoted by Dr. Aptowitzer there is not one that can be interpreted as pointing to such a belief. In practically all of them, the reward promised to certain animals is to redound to the species as a whole, and not in any future existence. In fact, the last four quotations given would indicate that the Rabbis believed that there is no future judgment for animals, and consequently no future retribution. On the other hand, the passages brought to show that both the heavenly bodies as well as plants and inanimate objects are also subject to the laws of retribution are so obviously poetic in nature that it is impossible to say that they indicate any set beliefs or doctrines. The various versions of the sun and moon stories are evidently poetic efforts to explain a natural phenomenon, while the figures regarding the guilt of the earth, already found in the Bible, were merely transferred from the inhabitants to the earth itself.

In line with his article in the first volume of the *Annuaire*, where he discussed the Jewish aspect of Early Christian Epigraphy, based on a volume of Carl M. Kaufmann, Dr. Ludwig Blau presents some interesting data suggested by a work on Early Christian Archaeology by the same author. Dr. Blau takes the opportunity to appeal to American Jews to establish, in connection with their seminaries and seats of learning, archaeological museums, in which copies of recent discoveries may be included, and perhaps also some originals. In the discussion presented by Kaufmann on the ancient architecture, art and symbolism of Christianity, Dr. Blau finds many significant references to Jewish practices, which are corroborated by Rabbinic sources which he brings as supplementary to the documents included in the work. He also takes up special subjects, such as the women's gallery in the synagogue, the laws with regard to plastic arts and many other topics, for special discussion and consideration.

Dr. I. Elbogen throws some new light on the Kalir piyyutim for the Tal and Geshem prayers, which he corroborates by manuscript copies of Kalir's piyyutim, which he was able to discover. Dr. Israel Davidson gives the complete poem of Sahlal b. Netanel Gaon, which is referred to by S. D. Luzzatto in his letters to Rapoport. In a brief introduction, Dr. Davidson presents the history of this poem and the underlying ideas in it. He does not establish the identity of the poet nor even the approximate date and place when and where he lived, beyond surmising that he belonged to the school of Yanai and Kalir.

Since the publication of Dr. Jacob Mann's "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs," mainly based on new discoveries made through the Genizah fragments, many new fragments have been deciphered, which throw additional light on this subject. Dr. Mann collected a number of these and gives them in extenso, providing each one with illuminating notes and indicating its value in the history of the Jews during that period. New names of notables are thus unearthed and much new knowledge about personages well known and often found is brought together for the use of the future historian.

A contribution of primary importance is made by Dr. Alexander Marx in the publication, for the first time, from a manuscript in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, of the text of a letter directed to Maimonides by the Rabbis of Southern France. The subject of the letter is an inquiry of the great sage as to the attitude Jews should take to the subject of astrology, which was so widely believed in during the middle ages both by Jews and Gentiles. Maimonides' reply, in which he denied any

efficacy to astrological speculations, has been printed and is found in several manuscripts, but the query which elicited this important pronouncement is now published here for the first time. In a brief note the author pathetically refers to the fact that some of the material was collected by his friend and colleague, the late Dr. Israel Friedlander, who intended to include this correspondence in his proposed edition of several smaller treatises of Maimonides. Dr. Marx prefaces the publication of the texts, with a lengthy introduction, in which the general opinion of cultured Jews in medieval times regarding astrology is clearly stated. There is also an analysis of the questions propounded by the Rabbis of France, indicating their hesitancy to follow a belief, so general and so deeply rooted, without the sanction of the great authority of the sage of Egypt. Their veneration for Maimonides is manifested not only in the lengthy hyperbolic titles ascribed to him at the beginning of the letter, but also in the complete confidence in his learning and piety which is expressed throughout the document. Maimonides' reply is a categorical denial of the belief, regarding its adherents either as fools or impostors, and making it antagonistic to Jewish doctrine and tradition. In reprinting Maimonides' reply, Dr. Marx had the aid of the printed edition, as well as of several manuscripts, and the variants are carefully noted by him at the bottom of the page. The author has placed all students of Maimonides as well as students of Jewish history and philosophy under a debt of gratitude for the careful and thorough manner with which he edited these important texts.

Abraham Kahana publishes two letters written by the notorious Karaite forger, Abraham Firkovich, which cast a lurid light on the machinations and character of this literary impostor, not only in his scientific work but also in his personal and family associations. The volume concludes with some notes by Harry Austryn Wolfson, additional to an article on "The Classification of Sciences in Medieval Jewish Philosophy," which appeared in the *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*.

While the last two volumes are comparatively free from printers' errors, the editing of all the three volumes is exceedingly defective. There is no indication whether the articles by foreign authors were written in English or were translated from manuscript. In either case, a thorough revision of style and diction should have been made by the editors.

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STUDIES ON SPINOZA

THE books under review¹ indicate a revival of interest in the ideas of the great Jewish philosopher of Holland of the seventeenth century. As long ago as the year 1897 an organization was founded in Holland with the name of "Het Spinozahuis," under the presidency of Bolland, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leyden. The purpose was to foster the memory of Spinoza and to maintain in a worthy manner the house at Rijnsburg in which he lived. In 1920 the organization above mentioned was re-organized at The Hague and became the *Societas Spinozana*, the membership of which includes the most prominent students of Spinoza of all lands. Since 1922 this Society publishes the "Chronicon Spinozanum", the second and third volumes of which will be described below. The announcement in the first volume gives the purpose of the Society as follows: "Spinoza inaugurated a new epoch in philosophy. In a great synthetic effort he reconciled the opposition which existed between the traditional view of the world and the science of the modern time, by realizing more intimately the close relation between God and the world. He guarded against the opposition which separates the moral law from the nature of man by pointing out to mankind the way to the love of God through the conquest of the passions by the reason, in order that they may fulfil in freedom the law of their own nature... The harmony between the ethical demands of his teaching and the purity and unselfishness of his life makes his person typical and worthy of honor... The way which Spinoza pointed out to the individual must also become the way of the nations—control of the passions and the love of God."

The contributions in this annual¹ are in various languages, as befits a volume celebrating a universal thinker, and a Jew at that. French, English, Latin, German and Dutch are represented in this volume, which contains original articles on the various aspects of Spinoza's doctrine and influence, a reprint of an old dissertation, memorial sketches of deceased Spinoza scholars, briefer notes on topics of interest in relation to Spinoza the man, and reviews of books on Spinoza. The volume is

¹ *Chronicon Spinozanum*. Tomus Alter. Hague: CURIS SOCIETATIS SPINOZANAE 1922. pp. xxv—276.

truly international, as is indicated by the variety of languages used, which represent so many different nationalities, with the exception of the Latin, which does not stand for ancient Rome, or the Catholic Church, but for universal learning. American scholarship is represented in this volume by the article of Prof. Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University, entitled: "Spinoza on the Unity of Substance". This is a chapter of a work (not yet published) by Prof. Wolfson to be entitled: "Spinoza, the Last of the Mediaevals". It shows careful and painstaking scholarship, and its purpose (as is that of Prof. Wolfson's book as a whole) is to show the influence upon Spinoza of the mediaeval modes of thought, scholastic and Jewish, in a more detailed exposition than has ever been done before.

Another American who takes part in this volume is Adolph S. Oko, the Librarian of the Hebrew Union College, who is one of the officers of the Spinoza Society. He contributes a sketch of William Hale White (1831-1913), who translated into English the *Ethics* of Spinoza and his *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione*. Mr. Oko is a lover of Spinoza, and has long been indefatigable in collecting *Spinozana*; there are not many who know more about Spinoza than Oko.

Of interest also from the historical point of view is the Latin article by William Meijer of The Hague, in which he shows the influence upon Spinoza of the philosophical romance of the Arab philosopher Ibn Tophail, entitled: "Hay Ibn Yokhdan". The Arabic treatise in question tells of a person who lived on a desert island, and without any external guide or authority arrived at a knowledge of and union with God by the light of his natural reason alone. Spinoza had a similar idea which he expressed in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Moreover we know that Spinoza possessed a copy of Tophail's Ibn Yokhdan in Latin translation.

Another interesting paper is in English by Leon Roth of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, formerly of Manchester University, whose book on "Spinoza, Descartes and Maimonides" is reviewed below. Here the author points out that the Jewish intellectual atmosphere in Amsterdam was favorable to the development of such views as Spinoza actually developed. Joseph del Medigo, a great-great-grandson of the famous R. Elijah del Medigo, was for a time (1628-1630) acting rabbi of the Amsterdam community, and was the author and editor of a collection of Hebrew treatises, published with a Latin title, *Abscondita Sapientiae*². Mr. Roth considers in particular the *Behi-*

² The full title is "Collectanea decerpta per Magistrum R. Samuelem Germanum ex magno opere Absconditorum Sapientiae: quod quidem

nat Hadat, or "Examination of Religion", of R. Elijah del Medigo, the *Mazref Lehokmah*, or "Refining of Wisdom", and the *Noblot Hokmah*, or "Last Leaves of Wisdom", of R. Joseph del Medigo. Here he finds ideas on the relation between religion and philosophy, on the question of the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points and on the relation of the universe to God, which (the first and the last) are not indeed identical with those expressed by Spinoza in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and in the *Ethics*, but are such, in their opposition to the views of Maimonides, as might have been suggestive to Spinoza and might have led him to his own views if he knew of those books. And there is evidence that he did know of them since he possessed a copy of this collection of treatises in his private library.

The other articles in the volume are each interesting in its own way for the student of Spinoza's philosophy as a metaphysical system, but this is not the place to discuss them. Of interest, however, to the Jewish reader is the fine appreciative sketch of Jacob Freudenthal (1839-1907), a great Jewish scholar, who has done very important work in Greek philosophy, in Jewish Hellenistic literature, and in Spinoza, having published a life of Spinoza, which in certain respects is the best book on the subject. He was professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and also Professor of Philosophy at the University. This biographical sketch by Carl Gebhardt is characterized by a fine appreciation for Freudenthal's admirable qualities of mind and heart, and is written *con amore*. The sketch of Kuno Fischer and his relation to Spinoza, by H. Falkenheim, is also worthy of mention.

Among the shorter notices there is one on the portraits of Spinoza by Carl Gebhardt. He enumerates five extant portraits and discusses their genuineness and provenance. Among them no. 3 was in the possession of the late Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia. The signature W. V., 1673, which led to the supposition that the painter was Wallerant Vaillant, is regarded by the author as of doubtful authenticity. On the authority of Dr. Hofstede de Groot he says that Wallerant Vaillant can not be the painter of this portrait, which is not worthy of him. He calls it "clumsy and wooden" (*ungeschickt und hölzern*), but he does not doubt that it is an authentic portrait of Spinoza.

exasciavit nondum tamen undique expolivit vir clarissimus omniscius
καὶ παντοπλανῆς Joseph del Medigo Cretensis. Quibus adjecti sunt
aliquot tractatus delectabiles ex scriptis magnorum virorum, ut se-
quens pagina demonstrat."

The third volume of the "Chronicon"³ is similar in character to the second. It too contains articles about Spinoza and those who stood in some relation to Spinoza as pupils or predecessors. The articles are written in Latin, English, German, French, Dutch and Italian. Of contributors who are known to the present writer personally or by reputation are: of Jews, Professor Morris R. Cohen of the City College of New York, who tries to show that when Spinoza spoke of the intellectual love of God he meant nothing more than a rational understanding of universal nature; Prof. Wolfson of Harvard University, who is publishing instalments of a book he is writing on Spinoza in which he endeavors to explain the 'Ethics' of Spinoza as an outcome of mediaeval Jewish and Arabic scholasticism; Léon Brunschvicg, of the Sorbonne (he succeeded in 1926 to the chair left vacant by the retirement of Levy-Bruhl), who writes on the Platonism of Spinoza; of non-Jews: Professor Frank Thilly of Cornell University, who writes on Spinoza's Doctrine of the Freedom of Speech, and Etienne Gilson of the Sorbonne and Harvard University, an authority on Christian Mediaeval philosophy, who writes on Spinoza as an interpreter of Descartes, pointing out that in Spinoza's book entitled *Principia Philosophiae Cartesiana* is found an exposition of Descartes' system which surpasses in logical sequence and clearness any other attempt of the kind and brings out the fundamental ideas of Descartes more rigorously than the works of Descartes himself.

There are others unknown to the present writer who discuss other topics in the philosophy of Spinoza which are of interest to the philosophical student. Of more popular interest and deserving of attention are the following: Mr. A. S. Oko succeeded in his capacity as one of the Moderatores of the Spinoza Society, in obtaining a brief statement from Anatole France, who was suffering from his last illness, to grace the opening page of the volume before us.

The Spinoza Society finds the thoughts of Spinoza most actively represented in the 'serene humanity' of the works of Anatole France, hence the request for a word from the great writer, which was dictated on his bed of sickness on the 30th of January, 1924. It reads as follows: "Pour bien parler de Spinoza, il faudrait retrouver les accents de Lucrèce quand il parle d'Epicure. Spinoza est un des grands héros de l'humanité. Il a enlevé aux hommes la vaine crainte et le vain espoir d'être immortels, en leur faisant sentir et éprouver qu'ils sont éternels."

³ Tomus Tertius. 1923, pp. VII—376.

Of especial interest to the general reader are the historical articles of Justizrat Dr. M. Mayer of Heidelberg and of Carl Gebhardt of Frankfort on the Main. The former writes on the well-known incident of the invitation extended to Spinoza to accept the chair of philosophy in the University of Heidelberg. The article is based upon newly discovered sources which turned new light on the episode. Carl Ludwig, the Elector Palatine, spent his youth in exile in Holland, which was in the 17th century the center of intellectual life and the goal of Europeans eager for knowledge. In the university of Leyden he studied devotedly political science, theology, philosophy and mathematics. Being a serious-minded man and a man of extraordinary ability, he was naturally interested in the welfare of the University of Heidelberg of which he became the first rector soon after its restoration in 1652. To give the University standing the elector invited learned men from foreign lands, Cocceji of Holland, Hottinger of Switzerland and others. Nevertheless it was a mark of extraordinary liberality and freedom from prejudice that Spinoza was decided upon as the Professor of Philosophy. His *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* had already become known, it had created a furor in Christian circles, and the elector had read the book. The man who was commissioned by the Elector to negotiate with Spinoza was Johann Ludwig Fabricius, a theologian and a Calvinist who detested Spinoza's radical ideas. He could not disobey the order of his prince, but, being a shrewd politician, he could defeat Ludwig's purpose. Knowing the importance Spinoza attached to freedom of thought and expression—a special chapter in the *Tractatus* is devoted to this subject (ch. 20)—Fabricius wrote in his letter of invitation that Spinoza would have all the freedom he wanted which, the Elector trusted, he would not abuse so as to disturb the established religion. This qualification had the desired effect. Spinoza replied that he did not know to what limits he could go in expressing his opinions without risking the charge of attacking the accepted religion, and hence was obliged to decline the great honor.

Carl Gebhardt of Frankfort A. M. has made many thorough investigations of the period of Spinoza and the Jewish community in which he lived. As a result he has been able to put his finger on a well known character of the time as being responsible for planting the seed of doubt in the mind of the young Spinoza. Juan de Prado is the young man who has the enviable distinction, according to Gebhardt, of having made a heretic out of the young Spinoza. To be sure there were other contributing factors, Ibn Ezra's half-veiled suggestions of doubt of the aut-

city of certain passages in the Pentateuch, the experience of Uriel Da Costa, the School of Franciscus van den Enden. Gebhardt, however, holds that the naturalistic outlook was maintained by certain persons within the community of Marranos in Amsterdam in which Spinoza lived. Juan de Prado was one of these men. He was born in Spain about 1615 and studied in the University of Toledo. He practised medicine in Amsterdam and on two occasions came up before the Mahamad of the Amsterdam congregation on a charge of heresy and of misleading the youth. The first time he was made to recant his opinions publicly and promise not to repeat the offence. The second time they put the ban of excommunication upon him unless he was willing with or without his family to leave the country and go over seas. He refused and the ban was affirmed. Gebhardt shows that this de Prado associated with Spinoza and exerted an influence upon him. The article is extremely interesting.

The book by Altkirch¹ is an extremely interesting and useful compilation of opinions about Spinoza from the time of his excommunication by the Jewish congregation of Amsterdam in 1656 to the latest laudatory expressions by Constantin Bruner in 1921. Most of the opinions are by Christians,—theologians, philosophers and literateurs—but there are also Jewish opinions like those of Berthold Auerbach, Georg Brandes, Hermann Cohen, Heinrich Graetz, Heine, Samuel David Luzzatto, Solomon Maimon, Fritz Mauthner, Moses Mendelssohn, Otto Weininger, and others. Some of these are favorable, others are not. Luzzatto and Mendelssohn and Hermann Cohen oppose Spinoza in the interest of Judaism, which they represent. An ultra-radical like Weininger opposes him for being too much of a Jew and limited in his understanding. He has no understanding of the idea of the State, he does not understand free will. The Jew, says Weininger, is always a slave and therefore a determinist! He even denies Spinoza's genius. Among non-Jews whose opinions are quoted here, are found all the greatest writers and thinkers of Europe, such as Descartes, Leibnitz, Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, Kant, etc. etc. As is intelligible in a German writer, but not excusable, there is no English citation given in the book. Martineau and Pollock are no insignificant Spinozists, but they are not mentioned. A fanatic like Houston Stewart Chamberlain rejects Spinoza as one who is altogether "foreign to us" (i. e. the Aryans). He has no sense of the mythical (ihm

¹ Ernst Altkirch, *Maledictus und Benedictus, Spinoza im Urteil des Volkes und der Geistigen*, Leipzig: FELIX MEINER, 1924, pp. 211.

fehlt alles Mythische). On the other hand Raphael Seligmann says that among all thinkers of Jewish descent there is perhaps not a single one who was foreign to the Jewish spirit to such an extent as Spinoza. There is not merely interest in examining the various opinions, but also humor and amusement and pathos. There is occasion for a cynical smile as well as a tear for human weakness, stupidity and sheer malice. But this is relieved by genuine nobility, courage and idealism. The volume is dedicated to A. S. Oko, to whom the author pays a tribute in his preface note.

The main thesis of Roth's essay⁵ is "that in his defence of traditional belief the Arab theologian (Mutakallim) was led to construct a metaphysical system which in logical essentials is precisely the same as that adopted long after by Descartes; while that in his attack on and rejection of this system Maimonides urged the same objections and put forward the same positive grounds of reconstruction as were used against Descartes by Spinoza" (68).

Here we have in the author's own words in a nutshell the contents of his book. To the average reader this little book will make hard reading and for his benefit all that need be done is to give a popularized résumé of the author's conclusions. The argument is fine and intricate, and none but a trained metaphysician, well versed in the writings and thoughts of Maimonides, Descartes and Spinoza, will be able to follow, not to speak of enjoying, the author's brilliant presentation. To such a one, however, the work will be a delight, for it leaves nothing to be desired as a specimen of fine constructive power and of clear and brilliant English writing. It is really a masterpiece of its kind. It is not only well thought out, but it is well written—a rare combination. And so far as one can say who has not made an independent study of the question and must depend on the marshalling of the evidence and the interpretation thereof given by the author, he has made out a case pretty nearly convincing, and certainly plausible. And if the author's conclusions are true, they are very interesting. They would indicate a continuity of thought between Maimonides and Spinoza, both Jews, and a parallel between the Arabian theologians or Mutakallimun, as they were technically called in the middle ages, whom Maimonides attacked, and Descartes, the Christian founder of modern philosophy in the seventeenth century. There are certainly points of resemblance between

⁵ *Spinoza, Descartes and Maimonides* by LEON ROTH. Oxford; CLarendon Press, 1924, pp. 148.

Hume and the Mutakallimun. They were both sceptical of the ordinary scientific and philosophic categories, such as those of substance and cause; though the difference between them was one of motive. The Mutakallimun did their destructive work *in maiorem dei gloriam*, as they thought, while Hume's motive, we may suppose, was disinterested. As for Descartes, it has been doubted whether his asseverations of God's absolute omnipotence, unlimited even by the laws of logic (the Mutakallimun, by the way, did not go so far), were not a pose for the purpose of escaping a fate similar to that of Spinoza. The author of the present work does not think so, but he shows pretty clearly that Descartes' logic is inconsistent and circular. Whether it is not possible to save Descartes' logic by recognizing the pose, the present reviewer is not ready to say.

In respect to Spinoza it has been a matter of debate among historians of philosophy whether his historical place is as a successor of Descartes, under whose influence he stood and by whose teachings he is to be explained, or whether the origins of his doctrines are to be sought in the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, such as Maimonides, Gersonides and Crescas. Naturally Jewish scholars have been among those who insisted on his Jewish influence, they being the only ones who were qualified to speak on the Jewish sources. Roth is the latest author who makes the same claim, singling out Maimonides as the one mediaeval Jewish source whom Spinoza undoubtedly knew and whose general standpoint he adopts on the question of reason vs. will as expressive of the essential character of reality or nature or God. Apart from the fact that Roth idealizes Maimonides' doctrine considerably, his point is well taken.

This little book will no doubt attract attention, and will call forth opinions of agreement as well as of dissent. But there can be no doubt of the masterly presentation and the freshness of the author's style. Those interested will look forward to more of the same kind from the author of so trenchant a philosophic pen.

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IDELSOHN'S HISTORY AND OTHER WORKS ON JEWISH MUSIC

THE history of Hebrew music has been written many times before, both by biblical scholars and professional musicians, but never in the manner and order of the volume before us.¹ Indeed, Idelsohn's history of Hebrew music is unique in that it deals with the actual material of Hebrew music, the individual notes and scales, the motives and themes and their gradual development, and not with musical instruments, as is the custom for the biblical period, or precentors and composers, as is the vogue for post-biblical times. Moreover, heretofore Hebrew music has been treated invariably as an extinct and mummified entity, dead and buried underneath the cinders of a hoary past, while Idelsohn treats it as a living organism subject to the laws of evolution and the influence of surrounding media; a thoroughly original and highly stimulating piece of work, which only the indefatigable author of the great *Thesaurus of Hebrew Melodies* was in a position to accomplish, for the one is unthinkable without the other. In fact, the entire Corpus was a stepping-stone to the present history, while the latter appears to be a summarization and a kind of epitome of the former. Nevertheless, the present work bears the imprint of originality in itself, and is well organized and articulated, is written in a pliant and lucid Hebrew style, a difficult feat for a technical subject like music, and deserves unstinted praise and commendation. Its only drawback, if such it be, is the circumstance that it is highly technical, and presupposes a knowledge of musical notation and nomenclature for an intelligent comprehension of its contents.

The book opens with an extensive introduction wherein the author presents a brief and succinct outline of the musical systems of the cognate Semitic tribes, the Arabs, the Arameans or Syrians, and the Samaritans, and, in addition, also of the Greeks and Byzantines. The Arab makams and Greek modes especially are dwelt upon at length. The book proper is devoted chiefly to biblical accents in all their varieties and ramifications (those peculiar to the Pentateuch, the Prophets,

¹ תולדות הנגינה העברית. מהותה יסודותיה והתפתחותה. מאת אברהם צבי אידלסון. כרך ראשון. כרלי תרפ"ד. הוצאת "דביר" חל-אביב—ברלין. XII+287 עמודים.

and the various books of the Hagiographa), each variety being traced to its different habitat (Babylon, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Bokhara, Morocco, Gibraltar, Yemen, Egypt, Spain, France, Italy, Amsterdam, London, Germany, Lithuania, etc.) and carefully compared with all the other varieties. Out of these fundamental notes are crystallized the characteristic scales and modes which constitute the quintessence and foundation of the Hebrew liturgical chant, and this chant in its pristine purity, divested of its latter-day embellishments and fiorituri, the author identifies with Hebrew music proper. It is evident, therefore, that Idelsohn, like Aron Friedmann (*Der Synagogale Gesang*, Berlin 1904), is of the opinion that Hebrew music was derived directly from cantillation, and was not the result of some outside influence, be it Arab or Greek.

In his analysis of the accents Idelsohn arrives at some very interesting conclusions. Thus he is opposed to the view of Praetorius and other biblical scholars that the Hebrew accents are derived from the Syrian neumes: he believes, on the contrary, that they constitute an independent growth on Jewish soil, like the tones for which they stand. He finds, furthermore, that the cantillation of the Torah is found neither in Oriental Semitic nor in Oriental Christian music, but is reflected in the Gregorian Catholic chant of the Dominican rite (*Kurie eleison*).

Quite appropriate and instructive is Idelsohn's disquisition on the essence of national music (ch. 19), how it is made up of certain characteristic combinations of tones, each nation favoring a different combination. Hebrew music, according to him, evinces distinct proclivities to the Dorian and Lydian tetrachords, which were developed in a free and unrestrained manner and with a slight tendency to mere recitative. Further, Hebrew music is always diatonic, never chromatic and enharmonic, i.e. it operates with tones and semi-tones, but not demi-semi-tones and still minuter divisions, such as we find in Arabic music; nor does it favor augmented intervals, modern usage notwithstanding. It is true that the Higaz or Ahaba rabba mode, which is based on the augmented intervals, is much in vogue with modern cantors, but, according to the author, it is really an imported growth and not genuinely Jewish.

The final chapters deal with the Tefillah and Selihah modes in the various rites, bringing the discussion up to circa 300 after the destruction of the second Temple, at which point this volume terminates. A further volume will deal with Jewish music of medieval and modern times, both sacred and profane, with special emphasis on folk music.

Here and there we find some inaccuracies in Idelsohn's book, as, for instance, on p. 96 where it is stated that the Ethiopians write two points

horizontally between each word, while as a matter of fact these points are perpendicular; or *ibid.* where Pinsker's לקושי קדמוניות and not his מבוואו אל הנקוד האשורי is cited as a source for the Babylonian punctuation. Attention should also be called to the inconsistency in the spelling of proper names, as, e.g., עשירן 8 פ. and עשיראן 7, בצנתיים 5 (why not בצנתיים?) and בונטיה 66, חורכית 6 and חורקית 66, ערק 7 instead of עראק. In addition, this attractive work is marred by numerous misprints, which, owing to lack of space, cannot be enumerated here.

With the rapid disappearance of the ghettos in eastern Europe many of the age-long customs that used to grace the Jewish home life there and shed upon it a halo of saintliness will also disappear. One of these is the intoning of Zemirot or Table Songs which are chanted in the domestic circle on the Sabbath. It is therefore appropriate to preserve these poems and their melodies in book form for the delight of families here and there who still indulge in this pleasant pastime of a bygone age. Mr. Loewe,² who has undertaken such a task, has given us a correct text of the Zemirot, that of L. Hirshfeld at Mainz, with fairly good English renderings, though too free and paraphrastic and sometimes inaccurate. In addition there are brief introductions and explanatory notes, as well as literary parallels, to each one of the Zemirot, and, last but not least, the traditional melodies harmonized in simple form as three and four part music. Of the 16 tunes here registered some are known to be old and original, others are evidently borrowed from Polish and Russian sources. In addition to the special introductions there is also a general introduction dealing with the age of the Zemirot and their authors and the place they occupy in the Jewish domestic life. The book is beautifully put up, not the least of its attractions being the tasteful illustrations, which both in form and in content are in keeping with the subject.

Lazare Saminsky,³ for many years President of the Music Committee of the Jewish Folk Song Society in Petrograd and member of Baron

² *Mediaeval Hebrew Minstrelsy*. Songs for the Bride Queen's Feast. Sixteen Zemirot arranged according to the Traditional Harmonies by ROSE L. HENRIQUES. Illustrated by Beatrice Hirshfeld and translated into English to fit the Hebrew tunes by HERBERT LOEWE. With a Foreword by The Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi. London: JAMES CLARK & Co., Ltd., 1926. pp. 134+3.

³ *Sabbath Evening Service* according to the Union Prayer Book. By LAZARE SAMINSKY, Musical Director of Temple Emanu-El, New York. Opus 28. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1926. pp. iv+26.

Horatio Gunzbourg's Jewish Ethnographical Expedition, well-known here and abroad for his Hebrew Rhapsody and Hebrew Cycles based on Jewish folksongs, has given us a refined and tasteful Sabbath evening service for cantor, organ, and full choir, in accordance with the style of the old Hebrew melodies. *Tov lehodos* is composed in the style of the old *coda jubilans* used in cantillating the Scriptural passage *wenoah matza hen b'enei adonai*. The cantor and tenor solos of the *Shema Yisroel* and *weshomru* are conceived in the style of the traditional synagogal melody. The cantor solo in *weanahnu* is built on a tune sung in Galicia and Volhynia by the public criers who, early in the morning, wake the people to read the Psalter. *Adon olam* is borrowed, with slight variations, from Solomon Rossi, the great Jewish Italian composer of the seventeenth century, who was the musical director at the court of the Duke of Mantua. It is refreshing to read the following authoritative estimate in the composer's introduction: "The Hebrew traditional religious melody and particularly its most ancient and characteristic type, the cantillation of the Bible, as representing the genuine and valuable Jewish musical culture, has an aesthetic and historic supremacy over the recently created Jewish folksong. The would-be Jewish tonality, the so-called *awwo-rabo Gust* (e, f, g#, a, b, c, d), which is the beloved tonality of many Eastern Jewish domestic tunes (love songs, lullabies, wedding dances), also of many Hasidic songs and of some traditional religious melodies, is not proper to the highest type of Hebrew religious melody with its beautiful and majestic major and Aeolian minor passages."

New Palestine is not only moiling and toiling, but also singing and dancing. This pleasant revelation is made by Mr. A. W. Binder,⁴ who on a recent journey to Palestine collected a number of the latest songs and tunes current among laborers in the Jewish colonies there. These Haluzim and Haluzot, it appears, carry on the age-long tradition of the Jewish folk-song of the Diaspora on their new soil, creating new melodies and tunes in the mould of old modes and an earlier style. During his brief sojourn Binder was able to glean 20 songs and tunes, some of them very beautiful, like the "Polka Chalutsith" in E-minor, "Zirmu gallim" in D-minor, "Atoh hu yodea" in F-minor, and the elegiac "Al mos Trumpeldor" in E-minor. Among them there are also two queer Yemenite melodies, marked by an exotic tonality and an extreme monotony, and one Arabian love song of a similar nature. Of

⁴ *New Palestinian Folk Songs*. Noted, collected, edited and arranged by ABRAHAM WOLF BINDER, Mus. B. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1926. pp. vi+28.

a peculiar charm are the two tunes in the collection, the Nigun Graboff, an original tune by the Haluz Graboff, and the Nigun Bialik, a dance-melody very popular among the Haluzim and taught to them by the well-known Hebrew poet Bialik. It will be noticed that these songs are preponderately minor, languid and plaintive, lackadaisical and ultra-sentimental, hence thoroughly Oriental and Jewish. Binder's harmonization is plain and simple, as befits his subject, and quite felicitous. It is interesting to note that some of the tunes are set to well-known liturgical texts, such as "Adon olam," "Uv'chen tsadikim," and "Zivhu zivhe tsedek." The transcription of the texts, being in the Ashkenazic pronunciation, is anything but satisfactory. Finally, the English translation, prepared by Rabbi Moses Baroway, does not always tally with the Hebrew text, as, e.g., in no. 12 "Shir ha-halutzim:" "The furled banner—free!" for *neit hameisor neit anoh*; if correctly recorded the real meaning is probably "let us stretch the cord, let us stretch the plummet" for the purpose of building.

The universal Publishing Company has been established for the purpose of bringing to light the numerous compositions of the younger set of Jewish musicians who are devoting themselves to the propagation of a national school of Jewish music. In the van of this school is a group of Russian Jewish composers who ever since the beginning of the present century have exerted their utmost endeavor in collecting and refining old Jewish melodies and harmonizing them in the form of overtures, suites, chorales, and even symphonic poems. Their zeal in disinterring these musical remnants of the Jewish past has brought them the sympathy of the entire artistic world, and their praise is being sung far and wide. In the present pamphlet⁵ L. Ssabanejew, author of a recent pretentious volume on modern Russian composers, pays his homage to these pioneers of Jewish music by tracing their rise and gradual development during the last twenty-five years, dwelling particularly on the splendid efforts of Engel, Krein, Gnessin, Milner, Rosowsky, Saminsky, and Achron, whose untiring zeal was instrumental in spreading their doctrine also through western Europe and North America. At the end of the booklet there is an imposing classified list of all the compositions of this school, both vocal and instrumental, thus far published.

It is a well-known fact that Jews have contributed more than their due to the art of music in modern times, but no attempt has yet been

⁵ *Die Nationale Jüdische Schule in der Music.* Von L. SSABANEJEW. Wien-Leipzig: UNIVERSAL-EDITION A. G., 1927. pp. 25.

made to gauge the exact proportions of these contributions and to find out the extent of Jewish influence on the development of music in all its branches. Saleski's fine volume,⁶ the first of its kind, may be said partly to fill that desideratum, for it deals with facts and numbers and actually lists 65 composers, 52 conductors, 73 violinists, 20 cellists, 65 pianists, 35 singers, and 3 other instrumentalists, of great fame and world renown.

What a remarkable array of musical talent! And yet this list is far from exhaustive, for not only is it confined to the nineteenth and present centuries, but even within these boundaries it omits many prominent Jewish musicians, as, e. g., Isaac Nathan (d. 1864), the composer of the music to Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*; Jacques Pacheloup, the once famous conductor of the Pacheloup Concerts at the Trocadéro in Paris, whose name originally was Jacob Wolfgang (Huneker, *Steeplejack*, I, 251); Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849), the phenomenal harpist who composed about 100 works for the harp and other instruments (comp. W. H. Grattan Flood, *The story of the Harp*, p. 167 f.); Raoul Gunsbourg, composer and conductor of the Monte Carlo Opera House, and many others. Upon consulting the section on musicians in Adolph Kohut's *Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit* (I, 1-161), I find the following worthy and well-deserving musicians missing here: composers John Barnett, Julius Benedict, Ferdinand David, Robert Kahn, and Eduard Lassen; conductor Michael Costa; pianists Anton Door, Robert Fischhof, and Alfred Grünfeld; cellist Philipp Roth; not to speak of gifted cantors and great writers on music.

Shades of Wagner! The trickle of his days has become a veritable floodtide, and to-day forsooth Jews may be said to dominate the musical field, both creative and interpretative. Their sphere of influence is much larger than any of us can imagine, especially if we follow the author in stretching the term Jewish to its racial, not merely national or religious, connotation. It is a well-known fact that many very brilliant musicians of Jewish origin, for one reason or another, prefer to hide under an assumed well-sounding name and under no circumstances will acknowledge their racial origin. To identify these recalcitrant artists is extremely difficult and well-nigh impossible.

However, let us be grateful for what has been accomplished in this book. Saleski, himself a talented musician and very gifted cellist, being

⁶ *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race. Biographical Sketches of Outstanding Figures of Jewish Origin in the Musical World.* By GDAL SALESKI. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1927. pp. XIV+463.

interested in Jewish music and musicians, has in the course of his various associations and travels diligently collected material for this volume, which he presents in the form of biographical sketches, arranged in alphabetical order and accompanied by fine photographs. His facts and data are fairly reliable, most of them coming from the artists themselves with whom the author associated during his musical career. The numerous anecdotes are highly interesting and greatly enhance the characterizations.

A few minor flaws ought to be mentioned. Thus the narrative is too simple and summary, a recital of bare fact. The accounts often lack balance: some are too long and some are too brief. Also in listing the artists the alphabetical sequence is not adhered to very rigidly. Finally the book is marred by numerous misprints which ought to be corrected in a new edition. But when all this has been said we must admit the contention of the author that this book will, in part at least, be a distinct contribution to the critico-biographical literature in music, especially since certain names and facts appear here for the first time.

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THE JEW IN EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE

THE past few years have witnessed a revival of interest in this fascinating subject. The most comprehensive—though not the most impressive—study covers a period beginning with Chaucer and terminating with the Elizabethan epoch. Doctor Michelson¹ in an important essay undertakes “to trace the Jew as he figured in early English literature and compare the results of the research with what history has to say on these points.” It is an ambitious attempt effectively handled. He points out that the Jew as he came into literature was the Jew of the New Testament—a Herod, a Caiaphas or a Judas, a thoroughly despicable creature and that, to a great extent, this type was not modified except by extremely superficial and, in most cases, biased observation. The Jew appears in every English literary form—poetry, prose and ballad, and in the Drama from its beginning in the Mystery Play to its consummation in Shakespeare. The sum total of Michelson’s analyses of the Jew’s various roles is a mighty tale of hate. Instances in which the Jew is favorably treated have also been given but they are a small drop from a large bucket. Roughly, one half of the book deals with plot analysis, and the other half takes specific traits, such as dress, friends, mode of living as portrayed in the plots discussed. Dr. Michelson does not allow his natural Jewish sympathies to make this a passionate picture of literary crucifixion. It is however an essay full of feeling combined with much careful research. It seems a pity that it was written with paragraph headings only and not divided into chapters, as this makes its use for reference difficult.

Cardozo’s² book on the Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama opens with the question “Were there as a matter of fact any recognizable Jews commonly known to be living in London between the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the closure of the theatres by the Puritans in 1640”? The answer, pursued through some 300 pages of historical and literary references, comes in the negative. Having opposed himself to

¹ *The Jew in Early English Literature*. By Dr. H. MICHELSON. Amsterdam: H. J. PARIS, 1926. Pp. viii+175.

² *The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama*. By JACOB LOPES CARDOZO. Amsterdam: H. J. PARIS. 1925. Pp. xvi+335.

the modern school of thought headed by Lucien Wolf and Sir Sidney Lee, Dr. Cardozo has a disquieting way of turning evidence which they have used to prove that there were Jews in England during that time, to prove that there were not.

In refuting the statement that the number of references to Jews in dramatic literature is a proof of their presence in England, the author points out that Mr. Edward Meyer has collected over 400 references in Elizabethan drama to Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino which is quite as many as the whole number referring to Jews. "If one foreign politician could engross so much stage attention why not a whole nation of equally foreign Jews." Says Dr. Cardozo "English merchants and adventurers came in contact with Jews in the Mediterranean regions, Italy, Barbary and Turkey; after 1600 also in the Netherlands. To the home keeping majority, including the playwrights, the Jew was an exotic or an abstraction, known through the Bible, ancient history (Josephus) sermons and rumor. There is no relation between the familiarity with the term 'Jew' in the literature of the time and the supposed presence of overt Jews in England. The current use of the word 'Jew' for a usurer, pawnbroker, Puritan or a foreign dissenting Protestant was necessarily figurative and almost unrestricted, because in the absence of racial Jews such metaphorical use could not lead to misunderstanding." There are nine plays with prominent Jewish roles; the scene is never laid in England but in Italy or Turkey. In the "Three Ladies of London," by Wilson, though the play takes place in London, the scenes in which the Jewish character Gerontus appears are shifted to Turkey.

An interesting chapter is devoted to analysis of the name Shylock. Dr. Cardozo believes that the name is taken from Genesis, Chapter X, שֵׁלַח Shelach. All the names of Jewish characters in the Merchant, Shylock, Tubal, Cush and Jessica, or Iscah יִסְכָּה occur in Chapters X and XI. Dr. Cardozo deduces that these names were chosen for a drama or morality which has not come down to us but which was known to Shakespeare.

The book as a whole deserves consideration since it ably contradicts a prevailing scholarly opinion. References are thorough and quotations generous; it is rather a pity that so many of them have been left in the original Latin, German, Spanish, etc., as this inconveniences the reader even when it does not actually prevent him from grasping the point. One is tempted to say that the title should have been printed with a question mark since the point of Dr. Cardozo's story is that "The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama" was not contemporary and was not a Jew.

The other two books to be treated deal specifically with the Merchant of Venice.

"Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare"³ is the objectionably flippant title of a very serious book which interprets the "Merchant of Venice" in an unusual way. Mr. Griston is a lawyer; it is therefore not to be wondered at that it is the legal aspect of the play which greatly interests him. The thesis which he seeks to prove is that the legal and historical background of the play is that of the second decade of the fourth century and not of Shakespeare's own time, as is commonly assumed. The Twelve Tables of the Roman Civil Law, Table three in particular, allow the cutting of the flesh of an insolvent debtor. As Mr. Griston puts it, "The law that Shylock was seeking to enforce was the then existing Roman Law." Mr. Griston acknowledges that he did not originate this theory. "In 1779 Capell referred to Julius Caesar, the Merchant of Venice and Antony and Cleopatra, as the three Roman plays of Shakespeare." Again in the 19th century two critics pointed out that the incident was based on Roman law but made no attempt to carry the idea further. Mr. Griston however analyses the play according to his theory and finds that it fits to the smallest detail. One is tempted to say that where it does not, he fits it. He takes for granted the fact that the play was written during the period when England was filled with anti-Jewish feeling due to the Lopez trial. He also assumes that owing to the expulsion, Shakespeare knew no real Jews.

A careful analysis of Shakespeare's sources shows that the bond story, with its Roman background, is a folk tale as old as writing. Equally old, are the casket story and the Jessica story. Shakespeare wrote this play, as he wrote all his plays, to make money. For this reason he took advantage of current events to give it a popular setting. But it is Shakespeare's sub-conscious purpose, according to Mr. Griston, which shows his genius. He resents the de-humanizing of the Jew in the life and literature around him and intends to arouse our pity by his portrayal of Shylock's sufferings. The merchant of Venice "is not an indictment of the Jews, as some may be misled to believe by a hasty and misinformed reading, but, instead, is a scathing indictment of the non-Jews of his generation, and of many another generation."

In an interesting appendix Mr. Griston discusses famous Shylocks and shows that the tradition has been to play Shylock as a villain, that

³ *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare*. By HARRIS JAY GRISTON. New York: COSMOPOLIS PRESS. 1924. Pp. xxxiv + 342.

this, and an incorrect conception of the historical background have vastly distorted the play.

The average reader, unless he is particularly interested in minute literary analysis, will find the book long. To the student it presents a theory rather too personal to be scholarly. It should be recommended to the actor or producer of Shakespeare as an artistic conception worthy at least of some consideration.

"Shakespeare and the Jew," by Gerald Friedlander,⁴ is a discussion of "Shylock, Shakespeare's greatest error." This opening leaves us in no doubt of the thesis which is to be proved. A synopsis of the Merchant of Venice follows and with it a denial that Shylock is the ideal portrayal of the Jew in literature. He is rather "a caricature, a monstrosity, not a real human being." The play is based on existing material. The bond story is a folk tale of extreme antiquity, the personnel of the debtor-creditor relationship varying according to circumstances, but in the earliest versions no mention is made of a Jew. Sometimes it is a slave and his master, a Turk and a Christian and once in the "Biography of Pope Sixtus" the Christian is the villain and the Jew the hero.

Mr. Friedlander develops a point which is one of his strongholds in his case against Shakespeare. The Merchant of Venice is merely a propaganda play arising out of the feeling present at that time in England. As has already been mentioned, Queen Elizabeth's physician, Dr. Lopez, a Marrano, was suspected of a plot to poison his royal mistress and was put to death. Shakespeare with his undeniable feel for what the people wanted, immediately produced a play about the villainous Jew. This is not a new theory. In November 1879, Frederick Hawkins in an article in "The Theatre" suggested that the plot of the Merchant was connected with the state trial of Dr. Lopez. In February 1880, Sir Sidney Lee draws the same conclusion. Edward Calisch in "The Jew in English Literature," 1909, takes the theory for granted.

Mr. Friedlander next attempts to show "how Shakespeare has gone astray in his attempt to understand the psychology of the Jew." This part of the book is weak because all facts on the other side have been disregarded. The strength and power of the famous speech,

"I am a Jew, Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions,"—is not even mentioned. Yet the author cites instance after instance of inaccuracy. "Shylock

⁴ *Shakespeare and the Jew*. By GERALD FRIEDLANDER. London: ROUTLEDGE; New York: DUTTON. 1921. Pp. vii+79.

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swears by 'his tribe' and by 'the Sabbath.' Such oaths are unknown to a Jew." Forgetting apparently that Julius Caesar is full of just such sins against history, and that historical accuracy in the drama is a modern invention of literary pedants.

Other plays dealing with Jews and their use as sources by Shakespeare are discussed, as is the vindication of the Jewish character in post-Shakespearian drama. This part of the book is rendered valuable by full and interesting quotations. Mr. Friedlander's book furnishes a concise summary of the bond story.

S. A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Le Système Verbal Sémitique et l'Expression du Temps par MARCEL COHEN. (Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Ve Série. Vol. XI). Paris: IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1924. Pp. xxvii+317.

A very competent and thoroughgoing investigation of the verbal forms in the Semitic languages and dialects with a view of determining whether or not they contain an element of time, like the tenses in Indo-European languages. After an exhaustive treatment the author, an adept in Semitic languages and their modern dialects, reaches the conclusion that there is no element of time in Semitic tenses and that where such an element does exist, as in some modern Semitic dialects, it is wholly due to the foreign influence of European tongues and is not inherent in the forms of the dialects themselves. It is a very useful piece of work, novel in that it includes all the dialects, and its usefulness is augmented through indexes at the end of the book.

Der 'Adschlun. Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. G. SCHUMACHER beschrieben von D. CARL STEUERNAGEL. (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Vols. 47-49 (1924-1926).) Leipzig: J. C. HINRICHS'-SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG, 1925-1926.

Steuernagel's detailed description of the Ajlun is based on the notes and diaries of Dr. Schumacher, a resident of Palestine for many years, who is well known for his explorations east of the Jordan and for his numerous publications on the Jaulan and the Ajlun. The description, which is authoritative in the highest degree, covers the geology, climate, flora and fauna, population, culture, and other characteristics of the country. It is profusely illustrated with drawings and designs in the text and 85 photographic plates at the end of the book. Everyone interested in the exploration of Palestine will welcome this standard work on an important transjordanic region and be grateful to the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* for its publication.

Über die semitischen und nicht indischen Grundlagen der malaiisch-polynesischen Kultur. Von E. E. W. GS. SCHRÖDER. Buch I: *Der Ursprung des ältesten Elementes der austronesischen Alphabete.* Göttingen: Dr. LUDWIG HÄNTZSCHOL & Co., 1927. Pp. 90.

An attempt to prove a Semitic (Phenician-Aramaic) origin of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, a group of agglutinative languages spoken in the area extending from Madagascar in the west, through the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, to Hawaii and Easter Island in the east, and including practically all the native languages of Oceania with the exception of the Australian, Papuan, and Negrito tongues. The author who is a resident of Sumatra and a close student of these out-of-the-way languages, intends to prove his contention through a comparative study of the respective vocabularies, but meanwhile he institutes an inquiry into the Malayo-Polynesian alphabet, endeavoring to point out its dependence on the Phenician alphabet. To visualize this he offers some graphic tables of considerable clearness.

Old Testament Essays. By R. H. KENNETT. Cambridge: AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1928. Pp. VIII+270.

The essays deal with the early narratives of the Jahvistic document of the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, the Jewish priesthood, the altar fire, the Day of Atonement, the historical background of the Psalms, the origin and development of the Messianic hope. In each case the author follows the modern radical theories concerning the origin of the Old Testament and the development of the religion of Israel. Thus he is an adherent of the hypothesis of the Maccabean origin of the Psalms and is of opinion that the Psalter as a whole was composed in 168-141 B.C.E. In his reasoning he exhibits a sharp analytical mind and he may be said to be a master of analysis. The biblical student will profit from a perusal of this book, though some of its conclusions are far-fetched.

Biblical Allusions in Poe. By WILLIAM MENTZEL FORREST. New York: MACMILLAN Co., 1928. Pp. 208.

Hitherto we have had books on the Bible in Shakespeare, Browning and Tennyson, and now we get one on the Bible in Poe. The author assures us that this study has been prosecuted mainly for the purpose of increasing knowledge of the Bible and that Poe's writings have been used as a sort of foil to bring into high relief the literary features of Scripture. The book opens with some general ideas as indicated in the following topics: spirituality, pantheism, mysticism, death and beyond death, world end and judgment, prose and poetic resemblances to the Bible, and closes with an appendix containing actual quotations from the Old and New Testaments. Interesting is the last section on Poe's

Hebrew, where the author endeavors to prove that Poe had a fair and working knowledge of the Hebrew language.

Israel After the Exile. Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C. By W. F. LOFT-HOUSE. (*The Clarendon Bible.* Old Testament. Vol. IV). Oxford: AT THE CLARENDON PRESS, 1928. Pp. xv + 247 + 15.

The chief aim of the Clarendon Bible series is to set the various books of the Old and New Testament in their historic environment and to give a general constructive view of the development of the religion, with the aid afforded by modern critical and archaeological research. Six volumes are to be devoted to the Old Testament literature, five of which will be concerned with the literature proper, and one with the external history. The present volume dealing with Israel after the Exile covers Ezekiel, Lamentations, Obadiah, parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah, Haggai and Zechariah, Malachi, Ezra-Nehemiah, and also the Assuan Papyrus. The book opens with a general introduction embracing 62 pages, followed by a series of selected passages from the literature. The text of these passages is not printed, but is indicated in each case by reference to the Revised Version; only notes and explanations on the passages are given. The book, which is well illustrated and contains also a map and a chronological table, ought to prove very useful to biblical students on account of both its compact form and authoritative statements. It is beautifully printed and elegantly put out. Through inadvertence the Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine, an illustration facing p. 214, has been placed upside down.

Die Gedichte des Hosea. Metrische und textkritische Bemerkungen von FRANZ PRAETORIUS. Halle a. S.: MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 1926. Pp. 48.

A metrical commentary on the Book of Hosea, supplementary to the author's previous studies in this prophetic book. It is marked by a conservative attitude, the author receding from many emendations which he advocated previously. His basis is Sievers' theory of mixed meters in the Bible.

Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu Deutero-Jesaias von FRANZ PRAETORIUS. Halle (Saale): MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 1927. Pp. 57.

Supplementary metrical comments on Deutero-Isaiah, an analysis of which yields circa 290 six-foot, 130 seven-foot, 120 five-foot, and a dozen

eight-foot metres. The author refrains as much as possible from wild and purposeless emendations. This is a posthumous publication, the author having departed this life on January 21, 1927.

Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament. Eine archäologische Untersuchung von MAX LÖHR. (*Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft*. 4. Jahr, Heft 4). Halle (Saale): MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 1927. Pp. xiii + (155-191).

An archaeological investigation of incense offering in the Old Testament in which every passage relating to this kind of offering is carefully examined both historically and linguistically and with reference to incense offering among Israel's neighboring nations. By way of introduction the author discusses the various articles of incense and their use in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, and Palestine. There is also a chapter on incense altars in post-biblical literature and one on the purpose of incense offering in general. The book is accompanied by 16 very instructive illustrations.

Die Psalmen, das Religionsbuch der Menschheit. Eine ethisch-ästhetische Wertung des Psalmbuches von Dr. ARTHUR POSNER. Berlin: C. A. SCHWETSCHKE & SOHN, 1925. Pp. 104.

A new and worthy appreciation of the ethical content and religious value of the Psalms, without any reference to their origin, authorship, or historical background. Each point is profusely illustrated from the text of the Psalter.

Tierschutz im Judentum von Dr. ISAK UNNA. Frankfurt a. Main: J. KAUFFMANN VERLAG, 1928. Pp. 24.

Traces briefly the principle of animal protection in the Bible, Talmud, Midrash, and later rabbinic literature, closing with the contention that the Jewish mode of slaughtering animals is really to the latter's benefit, since it lessens their agony to a considerable degree.

Das Tier im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zur modernen Tierschutzfrage von WILLIAM WALDEMAR PETERSEN. Frankfurt a. Main: J. KAUFFMANN VERLAG, 1928. Pp. 83.

A scholarly treatise on the treatment of animals in the Old Testament, especially with reference to the protection of animals from cruelty. The author, who is a veterinary doctor and also shows familiarity with the

Bible, knows how to deal with his subject in a methodical and systematic way and to make his point clear despite technicalities and involved analyses. He is not concerned about the philological and theological side of the subject.

Bible Stories of the Old and New Testaments. Simply Told by Mrs. HARRIET C. MCCABE and Mrs. A. M. COURTENAY. Illustrated by A. M. TURNER. New York: SAM'L. GABRIEL SONS & Co., 1928. Pp. 97.

The stories—the story of Joseph, the story of David, the story of Ruth and Naomi, the story of Jesus and his parables—are well told in plain English. The large print makes them attractive to children but more so the numerous black and white illustrations and the full-page pictures done in gorgeous and fantastic colors. However, these for the most part are not unconventional both with regard to figures and scenes.

Sur les Ruines du Temple (Le Judaïsme après Jésus-Christ) par JOSEPH BONSIRVEN. (Collection "La Vie Chrétienne" publiée sous la direction de Maurice Brilliant). Paris: BERNARD GRASSET, 1928. Pp. 379.

There is an increased interest in France to-day for exact information on Jews and Judaism, as may be seen from the large literary output in that field. The present volume gives a sympathetic description of post-exilic Judaism, its beliefs and tenets, its ethical precepts and moral practices, its cult and liturgy, its mystic and spiritual strains, and many other manifestations during the two milleniums of its tortuous history. It is a work compiled chiefly from various sources, but the author deserves great credit for resorting to authoritative and reliable sources, which in this case happen to be all Jewish. The book is well written and ought to prove a proper guide for Christians, for whom it is intended. Unfortunately, it lacks an index.

The Paradox of Religion. By WILLARD L. SPERRY. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1927. Pp. 63.

Two lectures, entitled "What religion is" and "What religion does", delivered during the early months of 1927 before general audiences in Sheffield, Liverpool, and Birmingham. They are couched in the exquisite essay style in which some of the best modern theological literature is written, and their burden is the fate of religion in the irreligious world of to-day. The author is hopeful that in spite of the great inroads of science the kernel of religion will always remain intact, however brittle its shell.

New Horizons of the Christian Faith. By FREDERICK C. GRANT. (*The Hale Lectures 1927-28*). Milwaukee: MOREHOUSE PUBLISHING CO., [1928]. Pp. xxix+227.

The aim of this course of lectures, which is part of a series of lectures on contemporaneous Church history delivered at the Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, is to consider the status of Christian doctrine in the midst of the intellectual changes that have taken place and of the new problems that have arisen since the beginning of what is called the Oxford Movement in 1833. By way of introduction the author discusses religion and natural science, theology and modern philosophy, the new Bible resulting from modern criticism, etc. He is of opinion that freedom in religious thought helps rather than harms true faith and that for some Christians "the hope for the future of religious thought, and of thoughtful and intelligent religion, lies in the combination of utmost intellectual freedom with a sane recognition and positive affirmation of the genuine and indispensable data of religious experience."

The Worship of the Synagogue. A Brief Statement of the Historical Case against the Practice of Treating Choral Matins as the Principal Sunday Service: With some Considerations on the Desirability of Restoring the Holy Communion Service to its Rightful Position. By JAMES MCARTHUR. London: SOCIETY OF SS. PETER & PAUL, 1919. Pp. 149.

The question which agitates Mr. McArthur is "Why do people fail to come to church?" and, curiously enough, he finds the answer in the fact that the Christian Church, especially the Anglican branch with which he is concerned here, had adopted the non-sacrificial service of the Synagogue as its principal service on Sundays and relegated the sacrificial worship of Calvary, the Mass or Eucharistic service, to a minor and unimportant place. After a historical sketch of Christian worship throughout the ages the writer concludes that "the Morning Prayer, or Matins, of the Prayer Book, is nothing else than the primitive Vigil Service of the Christian Church, taken over from the Jewish Synagogue: it is the Worship of the Synagogue inherited from Judaism, by the Apostles, systematised by St. Ambrose, enriched by St. Benedict, and finally translated into English, simplified, and popularised by Cranmer, and the English Reformers." As is well known, Matins in the Catholic Church, corresponding to Vigils in the primitive Church, always led up to Mass or Holy Communion as the principal service. In the Anglican Church, however, Choral Matins or so-called "High Matins," a tedious and monotonous kind of service which the author insists on calling

Jewish and thoroughly un-Christian, takes place at 11 a. m., while the Mass or Eucharistic service is generally scheduled at 8 a. m., at such an early hour that attendance becomes quite difficult for the average man. The author admits that this antecedence of Mass to Matins was well-intentioned in the minds of the reformers and was due to the consideration that Mass should be recited fasting, nevertheless he contends that it did great harm to the worship by tending to diminish the ranks of worshippers. He would prefer a fastless Mass well attended to a fasting Mass attended poorly. The remedy therefore he proposes consists in shifting Mass, the most important Christian service, to a later hour on Sunday, to 9 or 10 a. m., immediately before Matins or else soon after Matins, both hours convenient to attendance. Moreover, the author insists that both Mass and Matins be curtailed and beautified through musical accompaniment in order to attract the masses.

Ambassadors of God. By S. PARKES CADMAN. New York. THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1920. Pp. 353.

Tue Rev. S. Parkes Cadman deals with indifference to the pulpit in a series of nine lectures delivered originally at Bangor and Hartford Theological Seminaries and also elsewhere. The striking title—derived from II Corinthians 5.20—refers to the preachers who dispense the word of God. In the first discourse entitled "The Scriptural Basis for Preaching" the author dwells on the immutable verities of ancient Israel and the empyrian ideals of the Hebrew prophets which must form the basis of every discourse or homily. His attitude towards the Scriptures is neither conservative nor radical, but midway between the two: he believes that scientific investigation of the Bible does not interfere with the inspirational character of its teachings. In another lecture the author reviews the phenomenal activity of the foremost prophets and preachers of the Christian Church, from Chrysostom of Antioch to Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks in America. This is followed by a discussion of the waning influence of the pulpit due to the great intellectual and social movements of the nineteenth century and other currents and cross-currents. The author reviews the leading philosophical systems of modern times, among them Pragmatism and Pessimism, the theories of Bergson and Eucken, and endeavors to prove that far from being a hindrance to Christian theology they really form a great help to its propagation, if properly handled. And he advises the Christian clergy how to meet their difficult task and how to conciliate the indifferent public to their sermons. There is nothing in his remedies that has not

been suggested heretofore, only he elaborates them more carefully and expatiates upon the preparation for and the practice of the ministry. The book is well written and properly arranged. There is a lucidity of judgment and felicity of style which make the reading of the rather ponderous volume palatable even to a layman unused to a homiletic terminology.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible. Some Historical Notes by G. G. COULTON. Second edition. Revised and Enlarged (*Medieval Studies*, No. 14). London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO., LTD., 1921. Pp. ii+54.

A controversial tract and bitter attack on the Catholic Church. In his *Medieval Studies* the author set out to expose some anomalies and inconsistencies in the historical tradition of the Catholic Church, for which he incurred the odium of the Catholic hierarchy. In the present pamphlet he darts his arrows at the Catholic Bible Congress, convened at Cambridge, and its guiding spirits, Cardinal Gasquet, Dr. Hugh Pope, Father Ronald Knox, and Canon Barry, all of whom, he claims, wilfully and deliberately maintain views with regard to biblical criticism proved to be untenable by everybody outside their Church. Here is an instance. Catholic authorities have been maintaining, against the erudite pronouncement of Miss Deanesly in her *Lollard Bible* (Cambridge 1920), that the Forshall and Madden Scriptures, commonly known as the Wycliffite Bible, were really an orthodox Catholic version. Coulton contradicts this contention, defending the view of Miss Deanesly in every particular. He denounces the biblical policy of the Roman Church from its inception to this very day, from the lukewarm support of Jerome's painstaking version to the sanctification and canonization by a decree of the Holy Office in 1897 of the most certainly apocryphal and spurious passage concerning the Heavenly Witnesses in I. John, 5. 7. He maintains, moreover, that the Papal Commission for the Revision of the Vulgate is presided over by a man who has shown astounding ignorance of Vulgate Latin, of textual criticism, and even of Bible texts. Real scholars of the Bible, such as Simon, Lenormant, and Loisy, not only are neglected but even are intimidated, and their works put on the Index. Coulton narrates the pathetic instance of Abbé Alfred Loisy, the greatest biblical scholar of the Roman Catholic Church to-day, who for his frank criticism of the Bible has been condemned as a heresiarch by the Holy See and excommunicated from the Catholic Church.

A Handbook to Old Testament Hebrew containing an elementary grammar of the language with reading lessons, notes on many Scripture passages and copious exercises. By the late SAMUEL G. GREEN. Third edition revised by A. LUKYN WILLIAMS. London: THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY, 1921. Pp. xix+315.

Green's elementary Hebrew grammar was first published in 1901 and was intended as a first aid to introduce the candidate for the Christian ministry to the Old Testament in the original. Hence the emphasis on orthography which precedes the grammar proper and occupies very ample space. Hence also the lengthy and very detailed etymology, while syntax is dealt with but briefly in front of the reading lessons and exercises, both pointed and unpointed. The present edition is from the original plates. The only innovation are the three pages of addenda and corrigenda appended at the beginning of the book.

Grammatica Linguae Hebraicae cum exercitiis et glossario. Studiis academicis accommodata a V. ZAPLETAL. Editio tertia, emendata. Paderbornae: SUMPTIBUS FERDINANDI SCHOENINGH, 1921. Pp. x+158.

Zapletal's Hebrew Grammar in Latin is proving its popularity through a third edition, emended and augmented by 16 pages. The increase consists chiefly in an appendix on the laws of Hebrew thymhm and some new exercises in Hebrew.

Hebräische Grammatik. Von Dr. GEORG BEER. Erster Band: Einleitung, Schrift—, Laut—, und Formenlehre. Die Nomina. Zweiter Band: Verba, Partikeln, Satzlehre, Paradigmen. (*Sammlung Götschen*). Berlin und Leipzig: VEREINIGUNG WISSENSCHAFTLICHER VERLEGER, 1920–21. Pp. 144+155.

Beer's Hebrew grammar is small in size but rich in contents. There is hardly a question touching the various phases of Hebrew grammar that has not been stated therein and summarised laconically, with abbreviation of many words so customary in German scientific treatises and so irksome to foreign students. The arrangement of subjects is logical, the noun preceding the verb. In his treatment of the noun he follows the theory of Barth, summarising the latter's results in 12 pages. As to the verb, he treats each class separately and independently. It is a pity that the syntax is so brief and nothing more than skimming the surface. One misses also the various exercises which are an integral part of the compendious grammars of Strack and Steuernagel. On the other hand,

there is a good deal of originality in the arrangement of the diagrams and paradigms.

Hebräische Lesestücke aus dem Alten Testament. Von G. BERGSTRÄSSER. I. Heft: Sage und Geschichte. Leipzig: Verlag von F. C. W. VOGEL, 1920. Pp. viii+43.

Bergsträsser will be remembered as the new editor of Gesenius' Hebrew grammar. The *Hebräische Lesestücke* is intended as an aid to College and University students to familiarize themselves with the Hebrew idiom independently of the Bible. Hence the biblical texts are given in a modified and emended form, based largely on Kittel's Hebrew Bible. Most of the texts are vocalised, but more than a third remains unvocalised, to enable the student to read also non-biblical texts. Difficult words are explained in footnotes.

The Seventh Dominion by JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD. London: THE LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY, [1928]. Pp. xii+131.

Col. Wedgwood, a member of the British Parliament, gives an able presentation of the Zionist case vs. the British Government and makes a passionate plea for better treatment of the Jews and the inclusion of Jewish Palestine as the Seventh Dominion in the British Empire. He points out the great advantages of such a course and, on the other hand, the disadvantages accruing from the policy of the British governors in Palestine who in many ways seem to impede the free development of the new Jewish settlements and to thwart the very purport of the Balfour Declaration. He marshals facts and figures with the deft hand of an experienced statesman and shows the superiority of the Palestine venture over that of Cyprus, Macedonia, and the Jewish colonisation in Soviet Russia. He does not minimize the Arab opposition to the Zionist plans, but he believes that when the British people and government face a choice between Arab and Jewish friendship they ought to embrace the latter.

Nationalism A Cause of Anti-Semitism. By SAMUEL BLITZ. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+157.

From a superficial study of the Jews among the nations in ancient and modern times the author endeavors to prove his thesis that nationalism is the most important cause of anti-semitism, minimising at the same time other causes, such as religion, social and economic conditions. The

fact is that anti-semitism always was and still is due to a combination of causes complex in nature and sometimes defying analysis.

PIERRE LA MAZIERE. *Israel sur la Terre des Ancêtres*. Paris: LIBRAIRIE BAUDINIÈRE, [1928]. Pp. 208.

A series of observations made in the Jewish colonies of Palestine by a sympathetic French journalist who at the same time dwells on the national aspirations of the Zionists and the insuperable difficulties standing in their way, especially Arab hostility.

Zionistische Politik. Eine Aufsatzreihe von HANS KOHN und ROBERT WELTSCH. Mährisch-Ostrau: VERLAG Dr. R. FÄRBER, 1927. Pp. 291.

Consists of a series of Zionist essays written at various times and on various occasions, most of which had appeared in the *Jüdische Rundschau* of Berlin. The authors are vehemently opposed to a national chauvinism and a Zionism based on illusions: they advocate an ethical and cultural Zionism and in the realm of practical politics they insist on a better understanding with the Arabs in Palestine.

Prophetisches und Rabbinisches Judentum. Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der jüdischen Lehre. Von Dr. A. POSNER. Halberstadt: Druck von H. MEYER'S BUCHDRUCKEREI. Pp. 66.

Liberal Judaism's shibboleth that it is a direct descendant of prophetic Judaism is contravened in this booklet which, on the contrary, claims such a relation existing between prophetic and rabbinic Judaism, both of which are carefully and competently scrutinized and their close connection established.

MARTIN BUBER. *Die chassidischen Bücher*. Hellerau: VERLAG von JACOB HEGNER, 1928. Pp. xxxi+717.

A new and revised edition in one volume of Buber's important Hassidic works, including *Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman* (1906), *Die Legende des Baal-schem* (1907), *Nachträge zur Legende des Baalschem* (1921), *Der grosse Magid und seine Nachfolge* (1921), *Das verborgene Licht* (1924), *Mein Weg zum Chassidismus* (1918), and an appendix containing notes, word explanations and a genealogy of the Zadikim. There is also an introduction to the collected edition dealing with some important phases of the Hassidic movement. These works have a wide currency not only because of their interesting contents but also on

account of the charming style which Buber forged for himself and which he now employs so successfully in his German translation of the Bible. Hence the new edition in one handy volume. Their present portable form ought to prove a great asset to their wide dissemination. It is interesting to learn from the preface that Buber is engaged also on a *Corpus Hasidicum*, in association with S. J. Agnon.

Une Vie Humaine par URIEL DA COSTA traduit du latin et précédé d'une étude sur l'auteur par A. B. DUFF et PIERRE KAN. (JUDAÏSME III). Paris: F. RIEDER & CIE, 1926. Pp. 138.

A French translation of the *Exemplar humanae vitae* of Uriel da Costa, prefaced by a lengthy introduction containing a penetrating study of da Costa's origin, life and thought. There is also a bibliography and a facsimile of the martyr's signature.

My Trip Through Egypt and the Holy Land. By CAROLINE BAGLEY. New York: THE GRAFTON PRESS, [1928]. Pp. 223.

A simple, straightforward account of a trip through Egypt and Palestine, undertaken primarily for the purpose of inspecting the Christian holy sites in the Holy Land. The book is accompanied by numerous photographs and a map which help to elucidate the interesting account. There is also an appendix at the end containing Arabic sentences and phrases in common use in the East and their English equivalents, by way of guide to prospective travelers in those countries. The transcription of the Arabic, however, is far from accurate.

Le Retour a Jérusalem par PIERRE BONARDI avec 64 dessins inédits de Feder (*L'Invitation au Voyage*). Paris: ANDRÉ DELPEUCH, 1927. Pp. 207.

A sympathetic account of the new Jewish settlement of Palestine and the problems presented to the Zionists. Though the book is a book of travel, giving impressions of a visit to Jewish Palestine, yet it is concerned chiefly with a defense and justification of the Jewish cause whose happy outcome the author does not doubt. The numerous ink sketches accompanying the text and representing a great variety of Palestinian scenes and characters add a touch of realism to the smoothly flowing narrative.

Docteur HENRI AURENCHÉ. *Vers Jérusalem.* Préface de E. BAUMANN. Paris: PERRIN ET CIE., 1928. Pp. xii+244.

An impassioned narrative of a pilgrimage to Palestine undertaken by an ardent Catholic and pursued in the footsteps of Jesus. The author has no sympathy for the other Christian denominations active in the Holy Land, and evinces hostility to the Jewish settlers there. The book, which is beautifully written and contains some brilliant lyric passages, is fittingly and amply illustrated and is, moreover, accompanied by a map of Palestine at the time of Jesus.

Travels in North Africa. By NAHUM SLOUSCHZ. Philadelphia: JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 1927. Pp. ix+488.

Books of travel, especially travel in distant and out-of-the-way countries, are very scarce in Jewish literature, and therefore Slouschz's volume ought to be welcome to the Jewish public even if it does not come up to the expectations of critics as a strict itinerary narrative. As a matter of fact it is not merely a story of travels but also a historical and ethnographical treatise containing documentary evidence, facts of historical and social interest, observations on the social and religious life among the various Jewish groups of Africa, and finally certain reflections suggested by the wide difference between their manner of life and that of the modern world. The volume is the result of ten years of travel amongst the Jews of Africa and a good deal of study and research into their history and ethnography. The countries visited are Tripoli, the three Jebels of the Sahara, Carthage and Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, all rugged and not easily accessible to a European tourist. The account is highly interesting and entertaining and deserves perusal by everyone concerned in the fate of African Jewry. Unfortunately the book lacks a map of the itinerary and a subject index.

The Rejected Messiah. By SALOMON POLIAKOFF. New York: ALBERT BONI, 1928. Pp. 289.

The colorful story of Sabbatai Zevi has served as a rich mine to all kinds of romancers and novelists who in the exuberance of their imagination had woven glaring and fantastic narrative patterns around it. Poliakoff's story is in the conventional style and offers nothing new and extraordinary. Apparently the author has steeped himself in the Jewish lore of the seventeenth century and reproduced the tragic adventure of the rejected Messiah in most of its historical essentials but without that charm which necessarily attaches to all creative art of the imaginative variety. Thus the story lacks the magic touch of genius which in the

able hands of a great Jewish novelist in present-day Germany has converted the disastrous adventure of Reubeni, another false Messiah, into a masterpiece of fiction. Among the weak points in the narrative may be mentioned the imperfect delineation of character, particularly of Sabbatai Zevi, whose figure from beginning to end appears vague, lacking any definite outline, but especially so toward the close, where in his effort to palliate the false Messiah's apostasy the author involves him in contradictory moods and makes him vanish without any hint as to his future fate. Another weak point is the paucity of dialogue which better than anything else guides a story on the right road. However, credit is due to the author for his fine style in depicting the interplay of passions and emotions in this great drama of a people's blasted hopes.

Sulamith. A Romance of Antiquity. By ALEXANDRE KUPRIN. Translated from the Russian by B. C. GUERNEY. With Eight full-page illustrations in color. By FORBES-FELIX. New York: Privately Printed for Subscribers, 1928. Pp. 220.

The well-known romance of Solomon and Sulamith masterfully woven out of the books of Canticles, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, and richly embroidered with sensuous pictures and erotic images. It is a poem in prose artistically wrought by one of Russia's great belletrists who had a flair for things Oriental and whose numerous narratives, marked by a rich and sensuous style, have been translated into the leading European tongues. Kuprin's poem appeared in Moscow in 1908 and left a powerful impress on modern Russian literature. The translation is quite successful, having preserved the archaic flavor of the original. The illustrations, in true Oriental style, are exquisite in their artistic conception and dazzling color, and they may be said to fit the text excellently.

ספר שעשועים כולל מבחר החדוד וההחול בספרת החלמוד. ה'זהר. ובספרי בעלי האסופות הקדמונים והאחרונים מסודרים לפי סדר הכתובים ופרשיותיהם גם מבוא ע"ד דוד דור וליצניו. הלצות. ודברי בקרת שונים עם הערות מאת נחמיה שמואל ליבאוויטש. ניו-יארק: בלוך פובלישינג קא. תרפ"ה. 46+136 דפים.

An entertaining collection of wit and humour representative of all the periods of Hebrew literature from the Bible to the Haskalah products. The critical notes are very scanty and many anecdotes are reproduced without any comment whatsoever. Also an index is lacking.

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The Ghetto Messenger. By ABRAHAM BURSTEIN. Sixty tales of a unique seventy year old telegraph messenger "boy." New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING Co., 1928. Pp. 302.

These stories are selected from a series which for six years filled an assigned place in the Sunday English page of the Jewish Daily News.

MYRIAM HARRY. *Das kleine Mädchen von Jerusalem.* Roman eines Kindes. Berlin: DER HEINE-BUND, 1928. Pp. 280.

A German translation of Myriam Harry's realistic novel *La Petite Fille de Jerusalem* whose simple plot hinges around the notorious and tragic Shapira forgeries of 1883. The rendering, in fluent and elegant German style, is by Z. Holm.

Der letzte Waldjude. Ein Roman von OPATOSCHU. Berlin: DER HEINE-BUND, 1928. Pp. 320.

One of the most ambitious and successful novels of the well-known Yiddish novelist Opatoschu, translated into German by Siegfried Schmitz. Though not evident on the surface, it is an historical narrative of large proportions, having as its background the Polish uprising of 1863 and the twilight of Hassidism in Poland due to the disintegrating forces of the Haskalah movement. The hero is brought up in the Polish woods, of which the author gives a graphic description, then lands in Kotzk, a stronghold of Hassidism and the seat of a famous Rabbi, and finally emerges into the wide world, the civilized west. It is a powerful story in which the various situations are deftly handled and the numerous characters well limned and in which local color plays an important part.

The Rise of David Levinsky. A novel by ABRAHAM CAHAN. [New York]: GROSSET & DUNLAP, [1928]. Pp. 530.

Cahan's novel was first published in 1917. The present reprint proves its popularity.

"*The Mary Letters.*" An Idyll of Struggling Souls. Edited by PHILIP DAVID BOOKSTABER. Philadelphia: DORRANCE AND COMPANY, [1928]. Pp. 139.

Some just observations on familiar topics, such as youth, society, convention, sex, friendship, the creative impulse, art in industry etc.,

couched in the loose and disconnected form of letters from a man to a woman, whose friendship was brought about through the agency of a rabbi. It is an attempt to portray noble character, the sensitive soul and creative personality of two kindred beings who, while living in the maelstrom of business, frown upon it and strive for something noble and elevating; but somehow this is not vividly brought out, and the book produces the impression of something fragmentary and incomplete.

אורח ישראל. ללמוד דיני ישראל ומנהגיו וטעמיהם, ערוכים ומסדרים באופן שיטתי ושלובים ואחוזים בקורות עמנו ואנדותיו. מאת ש. בוניסקי. ניו-יורק: הוצאת בלוק, הרפ"ה. 144 דפים.

An attractive and very useful handbook of Jewish laws and customs for upper forms of Hebrew schools, written in easy vocalized Hebrew and illustrated here and there by appropriate pictures. It is admirable in its make-up and arrangement and really fills a long felt desideratum. It is made quite interesting by interweaving Talmudic stories and legends in connection with the various holidays and their observances.

ציון. מאסף החברה הא"י להיסטוריה ואתנוגרפיה. ספר שני. יצא לאור ע"י ועד החברה בהשחתפות "דביר". ירושלים: הרפ"ו. 176 דפים.

The second volume of the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society contains a number of interesting articles and studies, among them papers on the genealogical sections in the Book of Chronicles by Samuel Klein, ancient customs in Palestine by Abraham Marmorstein, a religious controversy in Palestine at the close of the Byzantine period by Samuel Krauss, concerning the Jews in Palestine during the first Crusade by Benzion Dinaburg, about the Jews in Malta by Simha Asaf, the Jews of Dir-Alkamar by J. Ben-Zevi, Spanish-Jewish proverbs by Isaac Ezekiel Yahuda, etc. etc. The authoritative and scholarly level of the first volume is maintained in the second.

Prejudice Against the Jew. Its nature, its Causes and Remedies with a Foreword by PHILIP COWEN. New York: PHILIP COWEN, 1928. Pp. 158.

This little book edited and published by Mr. Cowen reproduces in the main a symposium published in *The American Hebrew* in 1890, at his initiative, when he was publisher of that journal. The most notable contribution from the literary point of view is an extract from *Over the Teacups*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, written in direct response to Mr. Cowen's questionnaire. Many of the leading clergymen and literary

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men and women of the day figure in this collection. The book is published a propos of "the recent effort to bring about a close *rapprochement* between Christian and Jew." It is a melancholy fact that nearly forty years after Mr. Cowen's effort, a new one should be necessary.

ERRATA. *J.Q.R.* XIX, 137-144.

P. 137, title. *For* Or. 9166 *read* Or. 9165.

——line 17. *For* colleagues *read* colleagues.

P. 141, line 15. *For* בהם *read* ביחם.

J. L.

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Signature of D.V.E. Clerk

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